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HISTORY OF GREECE

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TABLE,

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL,

TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

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ERRATA IN FIRST EDITION OF VOLUME IV.

- Page 15, note 1, for "conjecture" read "conjunctive."
 37, line 16, for "Phrynichus" read "Pisander."
 42, line 6 from the bottom, for "own" read "old."
 46, line 12 from the bottom, for "to the assembly" read "in the assembly."
 60, line 10, for "orations of Chœreas" read "fictions of Chæreas."
 93, line 3, for "Salinus" read "Selinus."
 94, note, for "Phregresian" read "Phegusian."
 102, note 1, for "eilæ" read "pilæ."
 133, line 8, before "Epistates" insert "the."
 186, note 1, line 5, for "ani" read "animadvertēbat."
 210, line 5 from the bottom, for "propects" read "prospect."
 212, note 2, for "πῶσαικαυ" read "ἐλάσαικαυ."
 250, note 4, for "πολιταίτ" read "πολιτεία."
 233, note 5, for "θες το πλῆ το" read "τό πλῆθος το."
 252, line 19, for "attached" read "attacked."
 253, note, for "(Par. 31.)" read "(Per. 31.)"
 320, line 22, for "against them" read "against him."
 367, line 8, for "Pallene" read "Pellene."
 371, line 6 from the bottom, for "Leotychdies" read "Leotychides."
 385, line 15 from the bottom, for "than on one side" read "that on one side."
 417, line 10, for "Alcimanes" read "Alcimenēs."
 440, line 10 from the bottom, for "Deimænatius" read "Deimænetus."
 448, line 25, for "Dymanas" read "Dymanes."
 455, line 18, for "syptia" read "syssitia."
 455, line 20, for "pentacostyes" read "pentecostyes."
 456, line 6, for "Helianics" read "Hellenics."
 456, line 16, for "though he was" read "though he uses."
 456, line 23, for "Moras" read "Morus."
 457, line 16, for "Mough" read "though he."
 457, line 30, for "Psaphisma" read "Psephisma."
 462, line 10, for "Ærgos-potami" read "Ægos-potami."

The reader is also requested to correct an error, not of the press, but of the pen, which occurs Vol. III. p. 281., by substituting the words *Hippocritus* one of the generals for *Hippocrates himself*. The passage ought to have been accompanied with a reference to Andocides, c. Alc. § 13. Bekk.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE
SPARTANS AND ALCIBIADES.

THE news of the disaster which had befallen the Athenian arms in Sicily, was no doubt soon conveyed by many channels to Greece; but, if we may believe an anecdote preserved by Plutarch¹, it did not reach Athens until it was generally known elsewhere. He relates, that a foreigner who had landed at Piræus, as he took his seat in a barber's shop, happened to mention the event of the Sicilian expedition as a subject of conversation which he supposed to be commonly notorious; and the barber, having hastened to the city to convey the intelligence to the archons, was immediately brought before an assembly of the people, which they summoned to hear his report: but as he was unable to give any account of his informer, he was put to the rack, as the author of a false alarm, until the truth was confirmed by other witnesses. According to another story², in itself not more improbable, the multitude was assembled in the theatre, listening with unusual delight to a burlesque poem of the Thasian Hegemon, the

¹ Nic. 30.

² Chamæleon in Athenæus, ix. p. 407

client of Alcibiades¹, which by a singular coincidence turned on the overthrow of the Giants, when the sad tidings arrived, and soon spread through the spectators: yet, though almost each had some private loss to bewail, beside the public calamity, they both kept their seats, and hid their tears, that their grief might not be observed by the foreigners present, and would not even suffer the poet to leave off. But Thucydides informs us, that it was only after repeated accounts had been brought by eye-witnesses who had escaped from the scene of action, that the people could be induced to believe the whole extent of the catastrophe, the most signal and complete that had ever befallen any Grecian armament.

The first emotions of grief were accompanied by bitter reflections on the past, under which the people sought relief by throwing the blame on the orators who had counselled the ill-starred expedition—as if it had not been impelled by its own ambition and cupidity—and on the soothsayers who had promised a happy issue—as if their predictions might not have been fulfilled, if it had not blindly deprived itself of the services of the man who was best fitted for conducting the enterprise, or had placed less confidence in a general who was unequal to his station. But recrimination and regret were speedily stifled by the magnitude of the impending danger. The victorious enemy might soon be expected from Sicily before Piræus, while the Peloponnesians prosecuted the war with renewed ardour and redoubled forces both by sea and land, aided by the revolted subjects of the commonwealth. And there were neither troops on the muster-rolls, nor ships and stores in the arsenals, to replace what had been lost. The treasury was drained, and most of the sources from which it had hitherto been supplied were now likely to fail. On every side the prospect was gloomy, no less than the retrospect was painful; yet, though scarcely a ray of hope was visible, the strong heart of the people, which had sustained it in so many desperate conflicts,

¹ Vol. III. p. 335.

did not sink even now; and with a spirit worthy of the best days of the Persian wars they calmly applied themselves to examine their wants and their resources, and to prepare, as well as they could, for the new emergency. It was necessary to procure timber for the building of a new navy, to raise funds for fitting it out. The utmost vigilance was requisite to keep down the disposition to revolt among their allies, more particularly in Eubœa, on which their very subsistence might sometimes depend. The indispensable service of the state demanded the retrenchment of all superfluous expenses. It was a juncture which called for great exertions and many sacrifices: and the people was ready for them all. As prosperity had elated it with arrogance and presumption, and had rendered it passionate and headstrong, its misfortunes made it for a time sober, diffident, and tractable. The ordinary council was not thought sufficient to meet the dangers and difficulties of this crisis; and a new board of elderly citizens was created¹ for the special purpose of providing for the present exigencies. Thucydides does not enter into any details on the constitution of this body, which, though limited to certain objects, and not designed to be permanent, bears the aspect of an oligarchical institution; but subsequent events render it probable that the measure may have been proposed with views different from those which its authors professed. It seems however to have applied itself actively to the discharge of its proper functions. In the course of the ensuing winter, while a new fleet was on the stocks, the headland of Sunium was fortified for the protection of their corn-ships, and among other economical measures, the fortress erected on the coast of Laconia by Charicles and Demosthenes on the last voyage to Sicily, was evacuated. At the

¹ Under the title of *πρόβουλοι*. There were probably ten. Aristotle, *Pol.* vi. 5., speaks of *πρόβουλοι* as an oligarchical institution contrasted to the democratical *βουλή*. He is therefore not alluding to a case where, as at Athens, the two existed together. Yet it seems probable, that this innovation was designed by its authors as a step to further changes of an oligarchical tendency.

same time the proceedings of the subject states were observed with jealous attention.

It was in fact the opinion which prevailed throughout Greece of the hopelessness of the condition to which Athens was reduced, that rendered it most alarming. It was generally believed that she could not hold out another summer. The states which had hitherto remained neutral, and had viewed the attempt upon Sicily with apprehension for their own independence, now hastened to revenge themselves for their fears, and to share the triumph of her enemies which they supposed to be at hand. The allies of Sparta were eager to exert themselves for the purpose of putting a speedy end to the tedious and wasting struggle. Those of Athens, or at least the party in each state which was adverse to her interests, were still more impatient to shake off her dominion, and, measuring their prospects by their desires, were still more sanguine as to the certainty and nearness of the event. The Spartans themselves with all their coolness and caution, could not help sharing this confidence, which seemed to be especially justified by the naval reinforcement which they had to expect from Sicily, and they prepared to make an unusually strenuous effort, to urge their rival's downfall, and to secure their own ascendancy. They sent a requisition to their allies for the fitting out of a fleet of a hundred galleys. Of this number one half was to be furnished by themselves and the Bœotians, twenty-five by each: fifteen were assigned to Corinth, as many to the Phocians and Locrians: ten to the Arcadians, and the Achæans of Pellene and Sicyon; Megara, Trœzen, Epidaurus, and Hermione, were to contribute the rest. While these preparations were going forward, Agis made an expedition northward from Decelea, to levy pecuniary contributions on the allies of Sparta, and suddenly entering the territories of the hostile Ætæans, collected a large booty, which they were fain to redeem with a sum of money. He next ventured on a still bolder step, which might have served to warn those who trusted Spartan pro-

essions of moderation and justice. In spite of the expostulations of the Thessalians¹, he exacted money, and hostages, whom he deposited at Corinth, from the Achæans of Phthia, and the rest of the dependent tribes in the south of Thessaly, and endeavoured to bring them over to the Peloponnesian confederacy.

In this affair however he seems to have acted on his own discretion, though his conduct was apparently sanctioned by his government. So long as he commanded at Decelea, he was in a great measure free from superintendence and restraint, employed the force entrusted to him according to his own judgment, and exercised an almost independent authority over the allies. And hence when the general tendency to revolt began to manifest itself among the subjects of Athens, the first application for assistance was made to him. Eubœa took the lead, and in the course of the winter sent an embassy to Agis, who promised support; and on his demand two Spartan officers, Alcámenes and Melanthus, were despatched from Sparta to take the command in the island, with about 300 neodamode troops. But while they were at Decelea, concerting the plan of their operations with Agis, envoys came to him on a like commission from Lesbos. Their solicitations were warmly seconded by the Bœotians², who prevailed on Agis for the present to drop the expedition to Eubœa, and to send Alcámenes to Lesbos with a squadron of twenty galleys, half of which they engaged to furnish themselves. But in the mean while other embassies came from the east with similar proposals to Sparta, holding out still more inviting prospects. A strong party at Chios and at Erythræ was eager to renounce the Athenian alliance; and the envoys whom they sent to Sparta for aid, were accompanied by a still more important ambassador from the Persian satrap Tissaphernes, who had been recently appointed by Darius to the government of the maritime provinces in the south-

¹ Compare the professions of Brasidas, Thucyd. iv. 76. (Vol. III. p. 272.)

² Compare Vol. III. p. 170., and Vol. II. p. 82.

west of Asia Minor, including Caria and Ionia. The court of Persia saw a favourable opportunity now offered for recovering its ancient dominion over the Greek cities on this coast; and, to ensure the zealous exertions of Tissaphernes for this purpose, Darius had called upon him for the tribute due from his government, without any abatement for that portion of it which he had hitherto been unable to raise from the towns which were under the protection of Athens. Tissaphernes had likewise been ordered by his master to secure the person of Amorges, a natural son of Pisuthnes, formerly satrap of Ionia. Pisuthnes had rebelled against Darius, and had for some time maintained himself against Tissaphernes and two other generals, who were sent against him, chiefly with the aid of some Greek auxiliaries commanded by an Athenian named Lycon. The Persian generals were obliged to buy off the Greek mercenaries and their leader, and then induced Pisuthnes to surrender himself by solemn assurances of personal safety. But when he was led to court, Darius condemned him to a death of lingering torture.¹ Tissaphernes was rewarded with the vacant satrapy. It was no doubt this treacherous cruelty that kept Amorges, son of Pisuthnes, in rebellion after his father's death; and he had fortified himself in the town of Iasus, on the coast of Caria, where he might receive succours from Athens. Tissaphernes therefore had many motives for wishing to deprive the Athenians of all footing in Asia; and his envoy was instructed to second the application of the Chians, and to offer Persian pay for any forces which the Peloponnesians might send to

¹ The *σπείδις*, (Ctesias, 52.) one of the torments in which Persian ingenuity was so peculiarly fertile. It is said to have been the invention of Darius himself, contrived to ease the royal conscience, and at the same time to gratify the keenest appetite for revenge. The victim was first entertained with a plentiful meal, and was allowed to fall asleep. If he then sank through a trapdoor into a pit filled with cinders, where he rotted and starved, this was probably held by the Magian casuists to be no fault of the king's (Valerius Max. ix. 2. E. 7.), and so the promise given by the royal generals to Pisuthnes was not broken. The reader may contrast this instance of good faith with the dishonourable conduct of the Syracusans mentioned in the notes, Vol. III. p. 456.

Ionia for that purpose. This he hoped would be the first step toward an alliance which he aimed at concluding between his master and Sparta.

But at the same time two Greeks, Calligitus a Megarian, and Timagoras of Cyzicus, both exiles from their native cities, arrived with proposals from Pharnabazus, the hereditary satrap of the provinces near the Hellespont, at whose court they had sought shelter. Pharnabazus was hostile to Athens on like grounds with Tissaphernes, in respect to the tribute of the Greek towns on his part of the Asiatic coast ; and he was no less anxious for the honour of gaining the alliance of Sparta for the king. His agents therefore urged the Spartan government to send a fleet to the Hellespont, and they brought five and twenty talents to defray a part of the cost. Sparta became the scene of an active competition between the ministers of the rival satraps. But the cause of Tissaphernes and the Chians was supported by an abler and more powerful advocate. Alcibiades, who was still residing at Sparta, had private motives for desiring that the Peloponnesian arms should be turned towards Ionia, and one of the ephors, Endius son of Alcibiades, was the hereditary ally of his house. Through this interest the Ionian ministers prevailed. Yet the Spartan government would not take any active step, until they had sent an agent to Chios, to ascertain whether the state of its navy, and its strength in other respects, corresponded with the representations of its envoys. But on receiving a favourable report, they admitted the Chians and Erythreans into their alliance, and engaged to support them with a squadron of forty galleys, to which the Chians undertook to add sixty of their own. Sparta herself was to furnish ten out of the forty, and they were to be placed under the command of the admiral Melancrias. But before they were fitted out, the Spartan superstition was alarmed by an earthquake, which induced the government not only to substitute another officer, named Chalcideus, in the room of Melancrias, but to reduce the numbers of the

first squadron to five ; perhaps—unless it merely served as a pretext for saving expense—that the malignity of the omen, if it was not to be averted, might be spent on a comparatively unimportant object.

All these embassies were kept carefully concealed from the Athenians ; and the Chian ministers, anxious to avoid a discovery, pressed the departure of the ships early in the spring of 412. Accordingly three Spartans were sent to Corinth, with orders that all the ships lying there, including those which Agis had prepared for the expedition to Lesbos, should be transported with all speed across the isthmus into the Saronic gulf, and sail to Chios : they amounted in all to thirty-nine. A congress was held at Corinth, in which the plan of operations in the *Ægean* was more distinctly traced out. It was resolved that Chios should be the first object, and that Chalcideus should command there ; and that as soon as Chios should be sufficiently secured, the expedition should proceed, conducted by Alcamenes, to Lesbos ; and finally that a squadron should sail under the command of Clearchus to the Hellespont. But to divide the attention of the Athenians it was ordered that twenty-one out of the thirty-nine galleys should put to sea first. The weakness of Athens was supposed to be such that no resistance would be offered to the sailing of this division, and that the one left behind would be sufficient to keep her in fear and suspense. The first squadron was immediately drawn over the isthmus, and the Spartans and most of their allies were anxious that it should sail without delay. But the Corinthians refused to embark on this expedition before they should have celebrated the Isthmian festival, which was to take place in May, and would not even consent to a proposal of Agis, who thought to remove this impediment by taking the responsibility of the voyage upon himself. During the delay caused by this scruple, the Athenians heard some rumours which roused their suspicions of the Chians, and they sent Aristocrates, one of their Generals, to Chios, to demand explanation and securities. The mass of the people there had no intention or

wish to revolt, and was entirely ignorant of the negotiations which the oligarchical party was carrying on with Sparta ; and the enemies of Athens, though apparently the government was in their hands, did not venture to avow their designs, especially as they began to despair of the succours they had been so long expecting from Peloponnesus. They therefore sent seven galleys with Aristocrates to Athens as a pledge of their loyalty.

But at the Isthmian festival the Athenians, who by virtue of the sacred truce were permitted to attend it, gained information which confirmed their suspicions ; and they immediately prepared to stop the passage of the Peloponnesian squadron, which was ready to sail from the port of Cenchreæ under the command of Alcamenes. They manned an equal number of galleys, including the seven Chians, and, when the enemy appeared, retired before him into the open sea, as to invite an engagement. But the Peloponnesians, who had not expected this challenge, did not accept it, and turned back. The Athenians however, who after the discoveries they had just made could not trust their Chian allies, were well pleased for the present to avoid a battle, and took advantage of the enemy's retreat to strengthen their squadron with sixteen additional galleys.¹ With this force they suddenly presented themselves when the Peloponnesians next ventured out, keeping close to the south coast of the gulf, and chased them as far as a desert harbour, named Piræus, on the confines of the Corinthian and Epidaurian territories. One galley was overtaken ; and when the remaining twenty were moored in the harbour, they had to sustain a warm attack, both by sea and land, in which most of them suffered great damage, and Alcamenes with some of his people was killed. The Athenians at length withdrew for the night, leaving a part of their squadron to guard the harbour, to a small

¹ It seems sater to adopt this interpretation of the words of Thucydides, viii. 10. ἄλλας προστληύσαντες ἑπτά καὶ τριάκοντα, than with Krueger (Comment. ad Dionys. Histor. p. 312. to strike out the words καὶ τριάκοντα, though, as he observes, they may have crept into the text from c. 15., and if omitted they would leave the context perfectly intelligible and probable.

island not far from it, and sent to Athens for reinforcements. The next day troops marched from Corinth and other adjacent points to protect the squadron at Piræus ; but the duty of keeping guard over it on that desert coast seemed likely to prove so inconvenient, that the first inclination of the commanders was to get rid of it by burning the ships. On second thoughts however they resolved to haul them up on shore, and to leave a force sufficient to protect them, until some opportunity of escape should present itself.

But the Spartans were completely disheartened when they received the tidings of this disaster. They had been apprised by a courier from Alcamenes of the sailing of the squadron from Cenchreæ, and were on the point of sending their five galleys to join it under the command of Chalcideus, who was to be accompanied by Alcibiades. But the occurrences at Piræus which were next reported to them, seemed so inauspicious an omen at the outset of an expedition, that they began to think of abandoning their designs upon Ionia ; and it required all the influence of Alcibiades with his friend Endius and the other ephors, to counteract this premature despondency. He represented to them, that their five galleys, if they sailed immediately, would reach Chios before the disaster of the other squadron was known there ; and that nothing was necessary but the assurances which he would give, and which would be received with more confidence from him than from any one else, of the weakness of Athens, and of the zeal with which Sparta espoused their cause, to kindle a general revolt among the Ionian cities. With Endius, in private, he enlarged upon the honour which would result to his administration, if, with a force sent exclusively from home, he should accomplish the two great objects, of detaching Ionia from Athens, and of uniting Persia in alliance with Sparta : an honour which might otherwise be earned by Agis. Agis, as king, was viewed with some degree of jealousy by every ephor, and perhaps was more particularly on ill terms with Endius. Alcibiades himself was his personal enemy ;

it would appear, as we shall soon have occasion to show, for no other reason than because he was conscious of having deeply injured him. This appeal, whether to the judgment or the passions of the ephors, prevailed; and the five galleys were immediately despatched, with Chalcideus and Alcibiades, for Ionia. It was about the same time that the Peloponnesian ships which had been employed in the Sicilian war, sixteen in number, after having been roughly handled by an Athenian squadron of seven and twenty sail, which had been stationed at Leucas to intercept them, made their escape, with the loss of one, to Corinth.

Chalcideus and Alcibiades pursued their voyage with the utmost speed, detaining all vessels that fell in their way, to prevent the news of their approach from going before them. At Corycus — a port in the territory of Erythræ¹ — where they first touched, they had an interview with some of their Chian partizans, who advised them to sail immediately to the city of Chios. They complied; and their sudden appearance in the harbour struck all who were not in the secret with amazement and dismay. The constitution of Chios appears to have been, at least in its main elements, oligarchical. We hear nothing of a popular assembly; but there was a council, which, according to the preconcerted plan, was sitting when Chalcideus and Alcibiades arrived. They were immediately introduced to it; its members were probably for the most part in the plot; they were however made to believe that the five galleys were only the precursors of a powerful fleet; and the occurrences of Piræus had not been heard of. The council decided for revolt; and the assent of the commonalty seems not to have been asked. Erythræ immediately followed the example of Chios; and the like effect was produced at Clazomenæ by the appearance of Chalcideus and Alcibiades with three of their galleys. But as Clazomenæ stood on an island, which still did

¹ The "Corycus portus qui supra Cyssuntum (Cyssuntum portum Erythræorum) est," mentioned by Livy, xxxvi. 43.

not seem secure from an Athenian fleet, the inhabitants proceeded to fortify a suburb on the main land, for a refuge, if it should be needed.

The revolt of Chios excited the deepest consternation at Athens ; not only as the loss of the most important of all the subject states, but as an indication of a spirit which might be expected to break out among the rest, now that the greatest encouraged them by its example. The danger which had looked most formidable at a distance was now actually present ; and it seemed folly to wait for any more pressing emergency, before the commonwealth put forth all her remaining strength, and made use of her last resources. The absurd penal clause in the decree which forbade the proposing to employ the thousand talents set apart at the beginning of the war, until the city should be attacked by a naval armament, was rescinded, and the fund set at liberty. Whether it had been found practicable, after the Sicilian calamity, to observe that part of the decree which directed that a hundred galleys should be kept in reserve for the same occasion, is not quite clear.¹ If such a navy was now in the docks, it was no doubt also released ; and the only difficulty must have been in fitting it out, and manning it. Twenty of the galleys on the station at Piræus were sent off in two divisions successively to the coast of Asia, eight under the command of Strombichides, and afterwards twelve under Thrasycles. The seven Chian galleys were also withdrawn, the freemen on board thrown into prison, and the slaves emancipated. In the room of these, others were sent to Piræus, so as to make up a number equal to that of the Peloponnesian squadron confined there ; and preparations were made for manning thirty more.

¹ Krueger (ad Dionys. p. 311.) thinks that the reserved galleys had been employed, either in the fourth year of the war, or the occasion described by Thucydides, iii. 16. (Vol. III. p. 176.), or in the Sicilian expedition. If however they were used on the first of these occasions, they were probably restored or replaced. If they contributed to the armaments sent to Sicily, Thucydides would probably have noticed this change in their destination. Yet he could scarcely have spoken as he does viii. 1. about the state of the Athenian navy, if there had been then a hundred galleys in the docks.

The first care of Strombichides, on reaching the Asiatic coast, was to prevent the revolt from spreading to Teos ; but he had not been long there with his little squadron, to which he had added a Samian galley, before he was chased back to Samos by Chalcideus, who brought with him three and twenty from Chios. At the same time the land force of Clazomenæ and Erythræ, having marched to Teos, began to demolish a fortification which had been built by the Athenians for the protection of the city on the land side ; and Stages, an officer in the service of Tissaphernes, lent his aid to a work so favourable to the Persian interests. Chalcideus and Alcibiades, when they had returned from the pursuit of Strombichides to Chios, landed the crews of their five Laconian vessels, whom they armed, and left in the island for the security of their partizans¹, supplying their place with Chians, who were probably so chosen as to weaken the disaffected party and to serve as hostages. With these, and twenty Chian galleys, they made for Miletus, where Alcibiades had great interest among the leading men, by which, according to the promise he had made to Endius, he hoped to win this important city before he received any reinforcement from Peloponnesus. They arrived there just in time for this purpose ; and almost immediately after the Milesians had revolted from Athens, the united squadrons of Strombichides and Thrasyclus, nineteen galleys, appeared before the harbour ; but not being admitted, they took their station at Lade.

The success of Alcibiades at Miletus was immediately followed by a treaty — the first that had yet been concluded — between Sparta and the king of Persia. It would seem as if the terms had been dictated by Tissaphernes, and that Chalcideus, in his eagerness to secure so important an advantage for his country, adopted them without weighing their full import. For the first clause declared, that whatever territory and towns the king or his ancestors had possessed, should again be his. The allies were to co-operate to prevent the

¹ That Alcibiades had any other views, is a conjecture as needless as it is unsupported.

Athenians from drawing tribute, or any other benefit, from these cities. Revolted subjects of the king were to be treated as enemies by the Peloponnesians — a clause pointed against Amorges ; — and the king was to deal in like manner with all who should revolt from the Peloponnesian confederacy.

The Athenian forces were soon after strengthened by the arrival of sixteen galleys under Diomedon, who falling in with a squadron of ten Chians, made himself master of four of them, with which he sailed to Samos. But the rest, aided by a land force, engaged Lebedos and Eræ in revolt. Tissaphernes also marched to Teos, and completed the destruction of its fortifications, which the Peloponnesians had begun. The Teians were now perfectly helpless ; and when the satrap had retreated, and Diomedon appeared with ten galleys, they consented to receive the Athenians on the same terms as the Peloponnesians. In an attempt which he next made to recover Eræ he was repulsed. But during his absence an advantage, much more important to Athens, though tarnished perhaps by unnecessary bloodshed, was gained at Samos.

We have no information as to the state of Samos after its last unfortunate struggle with Athens. It may however be safely presumed that Pericles, when he conquered the island, re-established the democratical constitution which he had substituted for the oligarchical government in his first expedition. And that democracy continued to subsist there down to the period at which we are now arrived, is confirmed by the hostility kept up throughout the war by the oligarchical refugees at Anæa. Still, as the island gradually recovered its prosperity, the privileged class seems also to have looked upward, perhaps contrived to regain a part of the substance of power under different forms, and probably betrayed a strong inclination to revive its ancient pretensions on the first opportunity. That it had not yet advanced beyond this point, may be regarded as certain ; because otherwise Samos would have been among the

foremost to revolt from Athens¹; and on the other hand it is no less clear, that the state of parties there was such as to excite a high degree of mutual jealousy, and great alarm in the Athenians, to whom the loss of the island at this juncture would have been almost irreparable. The issue is very briefly related by Thucydides. The commonalty rose against the oligarchical party, killed 200, sentenced twice that number to banishment, and took possession of their lands and houses. It seems to have been a sudden outbreak of popular feeling, if it was not an act of self-defence; for otherwise a time would have been chosen when there was a greater Athenian force at hand. During the insurrection there were but three Athenian galleys in the harbour; the crews of course took an active part with their friends, in a struggle which so deeply involved the interest and the safety of Athens; but there is no reason to charge them with the guilt, whatever it may have been, of the bloodshed.² As this event afforded a sure pledge of the zealous loyalty of the Samians, they were rewarded by a decree of the Athenian assembly, which declared them independent; and they requited this mark of confidence with a rigorous precaution against the remains of the oligarchical party, who were not only deprived of all political rights, but, as a degraded caste, were forbidden to intermarry with the plebeian families.

In the meanwhile the twenty Peloponnesian galleys at Piræus had suddenly sallied out against the observing squadron, defeated it, and sailed away with four prizes to Cenchreæ, where they renewed their preparations for the voyage to Ionia. They were soon after joined by Astyochus, who had succeeded Melanchridas:

¹ Krueger's grammatical proof that oligarchy was established at Samos, derived from the use of the conjecture in Thucyd. viii. 106. ἵππευσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀλλήλοισι ἵνα μὴ ἐλιγάρησινται, does not seem sufficient to outweigh these arguments.

² It may be proper to remark that the language of Thucydides does not bear out the calumnious assertion, that before the insurrection "intelligence was sent to the commander of three Athenian triremes then at Samos."

³ For it does not appear that he was deposed from his office, though Chalcideus was appointed to the command of the expedition to Samos.

in the office of high admiral. It seems however that there were very few of them ready for a long voyage; for Astyochus, who was ordered to proceed to Asia, took with him no more than four galleys. What prevented him from using some of those which had been long collected at Corinth — whether he had secret motives for haste which did not permit him to wait till they could be drawn across the isthmus — Thucydides does not inform us. But on arriving at Chios he found that Lesbos had become the theatre of war. The Chians, wishing to draw as many of the subjects of Athens as they could into their revolt, and ambitious of showing what they could effect without Peloponnesian succours, had made an expedition, under the command of Diniadas a Laconian, with thirteen galleys to Lesbos, according to the plan arranged in the congress at Corinth. A land force, consisting partly of Peloponnesian partly of Asiatic Greeks, marched at the same time, under Evalas a Spartan, to Cumæ, to be transported from the coast of Æolis to the opposite island. The appearance of the Chian squadron was immediately attended with the revolt of Methymna, where it left four galleys under the command of Eubulus, and of Mitylene. But here it was surprised by twenty-five Athenian galleys under Diomedon and Leon, who had recently arrived with ten from Athens. All the Chian vessels in the harbour fell into their hands; and then, landing their men, after defeating the enemy's land force, they stormed the city. In this state the affairs of Lesbos were found by Astyochus, who arrived soon after, with his four galleys and one from Chios, at Eresus. Here he was joined by Eubulus, who after the capture of Mitylene had escaped from Methymna with the loss of a galley. Astyochus made an ineffectual effort to preserve Methymna; and when it failed, sailed back to Chios, where he was joined by six galleys from the squadron at Cenchreæ. Leon and Diomedon, after having completely re-established the Athenian dominion in Lesbos, returning southward, took the new town which the Clazomenians were forti-

fying on the main over against their island, and transported all whom they found there — the chief movers of the rebellion made their escape — back to the island, which again submitted to the rule of Athens. They then proceeded to carry on the war against Chios ; and having landed at several points of the coast, and defeated the troops which marched against them, they compelled the Chians to keep within their walls, leaving their rich fields, which were adorned with all the arts of peace, and since the Persian war had never been trodden by an enemy, exposed to the ravages of the invaders. This turn of affairs excited the more discontent, as the revolt, which was the occasion of these evils, had not been approved of by the people at large ; and a conspiracy was set on foot for restoring the sovereignty of Athens. But the government was apprised of this design, and sent for Astyochus, who was at Erythræ with four galleys, to concert measures with him for averting the danger.

Late in the summer an armament of forty-eight ships, including some transports with 1000 heavy-armed Athenians, 1500 Argives, and a thousand from other allied states, arrived at Samos, under the command of Phrynichus, Onomacles, and Scironides, and forthwith crossed over and encamped in the territory of Miletus. Chalcideus had fallen some time before in a skirmish with the Athenians stationed at Lade, who had landed at Panormus on the Milesian coast. But his Peloponnesian troops, with 800 Milesians and some auxiliaries furnished by Tissaphernes, who himself brought a body of cavalry into the field, gave battle to the enemy.¹ The Athenians gained the victory, though their Argive allies, who were opposed to the Milesians, and advanced too carelessly against an enemy whom they despised, were worsted, and lost 300 men ; and as in the end the Milesians were driven within their walls, the Athenians

¹ The Spartan who according to usage (see Dr. Arnold's *Thuc.* vol. ii. p. 65.) succeeded Chalcideus, probably took the command in this battle. But his name is not mentioned.

immediately prepared to invest their city. But on the same day they received intelligence of the approach of an armament composed of thirty-three Peloponnesian galleys, twenty from Syracuse, and two from Selinus. The Siceliot squadron was commanded by Hermocrates, whose persuasions had mainly induced his countrymen to prosecute the war, with a view to the final overthrow of Athens. But the whole fleet was consigned to the charge of Theramenes, a Lacedæmonian, who was to deliver it up to Astyochus. They first touched at the isle of Leros, and there hearing that the Athenians were before Miletus, sailed into the bay of Iasus to gain further information on the state of affairs. While they were encamped for the night at Tichiussa, a Milesian town on this coast, they received a visit from Alcibiades, who acquainted them with the recent battle, in which he himself had fought, and pressed them, if they wished to save Ionia, to lose no time in succouring Miletus ; and it was resolved that they should sail next morning to its relief.

Meanwhile the Athenian commanders were informed of their movements, and deliberated on their own plan of action. Most of them were desirous of waiting for the enemy, and giving him battle ; but Phrynichus declared that he would never consent to expose the commonwealth to such a risk. They could always find opportunities enough of fighting when they had ascertained the enemy's strength, and had taken every precaution to ensure a victory. After the disasters they had experienced it would be prudent to avoid a battle, if they could, under any but the most favourable circumstances ; but it would be madness, for a point of honour to rush into a voluntary danger, the extent of which they could not yet estimate. He therefore advised that they should immediately sail away to Samos, with their wounded, and all the property which they had brought with them ; but that they should not even encumber themselves with their booty. From Samos, when they had collected all their forces, they might

commence offensive operations as occasion might offer itself. This advice, which Thucydides considers as highly judicious, was adopted by his colleagues, and that very day they quitted Miletus, which after their victory had seemed to be within their grasp. Their Argive auxiliaries, mortified by their recent defeat, returned home. The Peloponnesians arrived at Miletus on the morrow of their departure, and, having stayed a day there, sailed back, with the twenty Chian galleys, which were commanded by Chalcideus at the time of his death, to fetch the masts, sails, and rigging, which they had left when they were preparing for action at Tichiussa. Tissaphernes met them there with an army, and prevailed on them to sail immediately against Iasus, the stronghold of his rival Amorges. At Iasus they were taken for an Athenian fleet—for no other had yet been seen there—and were thus enabled the more easily to take the place and Amorges himself alive. They delivered him up to Tissaphernes, and sacked the town, where they found great treasures, the fruits of long prosperity. A body of mercenaries, mostly Peloponnesians, who had served Amorges, was incorporated with the conquering armament. The town was given up to Tissaphernes, with the captive inhabitants, for whom he paid a stipulated ransom. The fleet then returned to Miletus, where Philippus was stationed as governor, and Pedaritus was sent in the like capacity to Chios.

In the autumn the Athenians at Samos were reinforced by thirty-five galleys under Charminus, Strombichides, and Euctemon, and their whole force, which was collected at Samos, amounted to a hundred and four. They now determined to divide it into two squadrons, and to send one of thirty sail, with part of the heavy infantry in transports, under Strombichides, Onomacles, and Euctemon, to Chios; while seventy-four remained to command the sea, and to carry on the war against Miletus.

Astyochus was at Chios, busied in exacting hostages,

and taking other precautions against the plans of the disaffected, when he heard of the arrival of Theramenes ; and after such an accession to his strength, being no longer apprehensive of insurrection at Chios, he sailed with a squadron of ten Chian, and as many Peloponnesian galleys, to make an attempt upon Clazomenæ. He first tried to persuade the partizans of Athens to migrate to Daphnus, a place on the main land where the refugees of the opposite party had previously settled. But when his arguments, though seconded by those of Tamos, the lieutenant governor of Ionia under Tissaphernes, proved unavailing, he assaulted the town, which was unwallèd ; but he was nevertheless repulsed, and sailed away to Cuma. Here he received an application from Lesbos, where the enemies of Athens wished to try the success of another revolution ; and Astyochus himself seems to have been provoked by his former failure with a strong desire to renew the attempt. But as the Corinthians and other allies were only disheartened by the remembrance of the same event, he reluctantly returned to Chios, where he was soon after joined by Pedaritus. The Lesbian malcontents however did not abandon their object, but sent envoys with fresh proposals to Chios, and they were again warmly supported by Astyochus. But the Chians, who felt that they had need of all their forces for their own defence, were no longer inclined to seek a distant adventure ; and Pedaritus peremptorily refused to concur in the enterprise. Vexed at this rebuff, Astyochus so far forgot his duty and his dignity as to threaten, that to whatever distress the Chians might be reduced, they should obtain no succours from him, and then sailed away with a few Peloponnesian galleys to take the command of the armament at Miletus. He arrived there after having very narrowly escaped falling in with the Athenian squadron bound for Chios, through a false alarm of a meditated insurrection at Erythræ, which induced him to turn back to ascertain the truth. About the same time a squadron of twelve galleys, one

Laconian, one Syracusan, and ten from Thurii, where the Peloponnesian interest now prevailed again, arrived at Cnidus under the command of a Rhodian exile, Dorieus son of Diagoras. Cnidus had been induced by Tissaphernes to revolt from Athens, and half of the galleys remained to guard it, while the rest took their station at the Triopian foreland, with the view of intercepting some cornships which were known to be on their way from Egypt, and probably bound for Athens. But the Athenian fleet, sailing from Samos, captured the six galleys at Triopium, and nearly succeeded in storming Cnidus, which was without walls; but was at length forced to return, after ravaging the Cnidian territory, to its station at Samos.

One of the first objects that engaged the attention of Astyochus, when he came to Miletus, was the revision of the treaty which Chalcideus had concluded with Tissaphernes. The Peloponnesians had begun to be somewhat dissatisfied with the conduct of the satrap, who, from motives which we shall soon find a fitter occasion to explain, had made a considerable reduction in the rate of pay which he had promised to their seamen. Still the pay, though lowered, was sufficient, and regularly furnished; and the plunder of Iasus was not yet expended; the Milesians zealously contributed to all the demands of the war. But it was thought expedient to bind Tissaphernes by articles more explicit than those of the former treaty; and a new one was framed, which provided that the king should maintain all the forces he might send for, as long as they remained in his dominions. This seems to have been the most important alteration made in the conditions of the alliance; for the clause in the first treaty which declared the king entitled to all the territories and cities which he or his ancestors had ever possessed, was retained with a very slight variation of expression. After the new treaty was ratified, Theramenes resigned his command to Astyochus, and departed; but venturing to cross the

Ægean in a small vessel, in the most dangerous season he was lost at sea.¹

The Athenian squadron designed for the siege of Chios, after losing three galleys in a storm, first sailed to Lesbos² to complete its preparations, and on arriving at Chios the new generals, being decidedly superior both by sea and land, began to fortify a place called Delphinium, not far from the city, which was both naturally strong on the land side, and commanded several harbours. The Chians, dispirited by their past defeats, and distrustful of one another—for several citizens had been put to death by the oligarchical government on the charge of favouring the Athenians—did not venture on any attempt to interrupt the enemy's works, but sent to Miletus for aid. Astyochus, as he had threatened, turned a deaf ear to their request, and Pedaritus, in his despatches to Sparta, complained of the admiral's conduct, but was obliged to remain inactive. The losses and sufferings of the Chians were greatly increased by the desertion of their slaves, who, as they were extraordinarily numerous, and had been treated with much harshness on account of the jealousy which their numbers inspired, now that the besiegers began to entrench themselves in a permanent position, ran away in crowds, and by their knowledge of the country were enabled most grievously to annoy their masters. As the evil grew, and the Athenian works advanced, Pedaritus sent again to expostulate with Astyochus, and to urge him to come to the relief of Chios with his whole fleet, while it was yet time to save it, before the enemy's fortifications were completed. And as the allies began to express their anxiety on behalf of the Chians, the admiral's pride and resentment at length gave way, and he prepared to

¹ This seems clearly the meaning of the words ἀποτρίβων ἐν κίχλητι ἀφανίζεται, Thuc. viii. 38., which have given rise to various conjectures, as may be seen in Dr. Arnold's note. 'Αφανίζω is the word commonly used on such occasions, meaning simply to sink or drown. So Xenophon, Hell. i. 6. 33. Καλλιμαχίδης ἀποτίσων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἡφανίσθη. Ælian, V. II. xii. 61. Βεβήκας — τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ναυτικὴν ἡφανίσεν.

² Yet Dobree's difficulty is not removed by Dr. Arnold's observation on Thuc. viii. 34. It is far from clear why the Athenians should have gone to Lesbos for buildingtools, instead of bringing them from Samos.

comply with their demand. But as he was on the point of sailing, he received advice from Caunus, that a squadron of twenty-seven galleys had arrived there from Peloponnesus, with eleven Spartan commissioners on board, who were appointed to aid him with their counsels. This squadron had been fitted out at the solicitation of the two agents whom Pharnabazus had sent to Sparta, and was placed under the command of Antisthenes. The commissioners were appointed in consequence of the complaints of Pedaritus, and were empowered, if they should think fit, to remove Astyochus, and to put Antisthenes in his room. They were also instructed to send this squadron, or any other force which they should deem requisite, to the Hellespont, under the command of Clearchus. At Melos, as they crossed the Ægean, they had fallen in with ten Athenian galleys, and captured three of them; but fearing that the rest would give notice of their approach at Samos, they shaped their course to Crete, and, fetching a large compass, at length reached Caunus, from whence they sent to Miletus, to apprise Astyochus of their arrival.

He immediately dropped the design of the expedition to Chios for an object which, both on public and personal grounds, was so much more interesting to him, and proceeded southward for the purpose of escorting the squadron and his assessors to Miletus. As he passed by the isle of Cos, he took advantage of a terrible earthquake, which had recently thrown down a great part of the principal city, to complete its destruction, and to spoil the islanders, who took refuge in the mountains, of all their property. He had purposed to land at Cnidus for the night; but when he arrived there he learnt that Charminus, the Athenian admiral, was stationed with 20 galleys on the south-east coast, to look out for the squadron that had just put into Caunus; and he was persuaded by the Cnidians to pursue his voyage until he fell in with Charminus. He therefore held on his course to the isle of Syme, where the Athenians lay, and a part of his fleet having been separated in a dark rainy

night from the rest, presented itself in the morning alone to the view of Charminus, who took it for the squadron which he was seeking, and immediately attacked it, sank three galleys, and disabled some others. But his victory was suddenly interrupted by the main body of the Peloponnesian fleet, which coming up from his rear to the scene of action, began to surround his small squadron. He lost six, but effected his escape with the rest to Halicarnassus. Astyochus returned to Cnidus, where he was joined by the squadron from Caunus; and the united armament proceeded in triumph to erect a trophy on Syme. Soon after it had sailed back to Cnidus, the Athenian fleet also repaired to Syme, to fetch away the naval stores which Charminus had left there; but though it passed near the Peloponnesian station, no offer of battle was made on either side.

While the Peloponnesians were refitting their galleys at Cnidus, Tissaphernes came to confer with the Spartan commissioners on their common interests; and they both laid before him their views as to the future conduct of the war, and remonstrated with him on some points of his past proceedings. Among them was Lichas, the same person whom we have met with on other occasions¹, and who on this was the foremost to sustain the dignity of Sparta. He alone appears to have been struck by the importance of the concessions which had been made to the court of Persia in both the treaties concluded with Tissaphernes. If the king was acknowledged to have a right to all the territories that his ancestors had ever ruled, it would follow, he observed, that not only all the islands of the Ægean, but Thessaly, Locris, and Bœotia, must again be parts of the Persian empire; and Sparta, instead of restoring liberty to Greece, would be replacing the barbarian yoke on her neck. "He could not consent to receive the Persian pay for their troops on such terms. The treaties must be altered, or the negotiation must cease." It is not clear that the inferences pointed out by Lichas were contemplated by

¹ Vol. III. p. 593. 22.

either party at the making of the treaty ; but his remark rendered some declaration necessary. Tissaphernes would neither alter nor explain the obnoxious clause, and broke off the conference with signs of indignant anger. It is certainly possible that he may have been really irritated by the observation of Lichas, having hoped to gratify the pride of his master, by obtaining a nominal admission of antiquated pretensions, without giving offence to the Greeks. But his character renders it more probable, that if he had felt any anger he would not have betrayed it, and that the emotion he displayed was a mere pretext for abruptly terminating an interview which did not promise him any advantage.

The issue of this scene disposed the Peloponnesians the more readily to receive overtures which about this time were made to them by some of the principal Rhodians, who desired to break off their connection with Athens. The accession of this great and flourishing island to the Spartan confederacy would open a prospect of reinforcements for their fleet, and of supplies which might enable them to maintain it without the aid of Tissaphernes. They therefore sailed from Cnidus with ninety-four galleys, and suddenly appeared before Camirus. The greater part of the inhabitants, who knew nothing of the invitation on which they had come, were terrified at the sight of this formidable armament, especially as their town was not fortified, and fled. The Spartans however called a meeting, which was attended by their partizans who remained in Camirus, and by deputations from the two other principal towns of the island, Lindus and Ialysus, and which decided on revolt. The Athenians at Samos heard, a little too late, of the danger, and though they sailed to Rhodes without delay, they found it in the enemy's power. Henceforth it became a principal object of their operations. But as it was able to defend itself against their attacks, the Peloponnesians, having levied a sum of about two and thirty talents from the Rhodians, laid up their fleet for the rest of the winter.

CHAP. XXVIII.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE SPARTANS AND ALCIBIADES TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AT ATHENS, AND THE RESTORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

IN the interval between the battle of Miletus and the interview of Tissaphernes with the Spartan commissioners at Cnidus, some transactions had taken place, which were pregnant with very important changes, and gave a singular complexity to the affairs of the contending parties. Alcibiades, as we have seen, not only fought against his countrymen at Miletus, but exerted himself with great apparent earnestness and activity to deprive them of the fruits of their victory. Up to this moment there is no reason to doubt that he was seriously bent on serving the cause of the Peloponnesians, as that which was the sole foundation of his ambitious or vindictive hopes. But henceforth his conduct was entirely changed, and his views appear to have taken an opposite direction.

Though he had attracted great admiration at Sparta by his talents and address, and especially by the flexibility with which he adapted himself to the national character and habits, he does not seem to have gained any friends, and he made at least one implacable enemy, in king Agis. Thucydides only mentions the fact, without explaining the cause of his animosity. One quite adequate, and perfectly probable, is assigned by later writers¹, who relate that Agis suspected Alcibiades of having dishonoured his queen Timæa. The silence of Thucydides, on a point of this nature, cannot cast any doubt on the story, and since it is certain that

¹ Justin, v. 2. Plutarch, Alc. 23.

Agis was convinced of his wife's infidelity, it would be an absurd stretch of incredulity to doubt that he believed Alcibiades to be her paramour. Whether his jealousy was well founded, is a different question; but the character of Alcibiades renders it very credible that he should have engaged in such an intrigue, less perhaps under the impulse of passion than of vanity¹, ambitious, as he is reported to have avowed, of giving a king to Sparta. Timæa's fondness for him is said to have been carried to such an excess, that, in her private apartments, among her female attendants, she called her infant son Leotychides by his name. Agis had no difficulty in finding instruments for his revenge. The success and influence of Alcibiades among the Asiatic Greeks, though immediately subservient to the interest of Sparta, were of themselves sufficient to awaken the jealousy of the government, as well as the envy of many leading individuals. The suggestions of Agis probably contributed toward representing him as a dangerous person, whom it was necessary for the public safety to put out of the way. The great armament under Theramenes seemed to afford full security; and orders were sent either with it, or soon after, to Astyochus, to despatch Alcibiades. According to one account he was warned of his danger by Timæa; he at least received timely notice of it, and henceforth did not again put himself in the power of the Spartans, but attached himself wholly to the court of Tissaphernes.

The treachery of the Spartan government, if it did not strongly rouse his resentment, so altered his position, as to compel him to adopt a new course. It was no longer with the aid of Sparta, but in spite of her hostility, that he could hope to overthrow his enemies, and to recover his station at Athens; and the safety of his country became indissolubly linked with his own. But though the same motive now induced him to thwart the

¹ So our Buckingham — whose character in many points resembled that of Alcibiades — during his embassy in France, as Clarendon says, "had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to a lady of a very sublime quality."

peloponnesians, which had hitherto engaged him in their service, he was also desirous that the Athenians, before they received his assistance, should feel their need of him, and should look up to him as a powerful benefactor. Both these objects he hoped to accomplish through the favour of Tissaphernes. He easily insinuated himself into the satrap's good graces, by those arts of flattery in which he was so profound a master as not to fear competition even with an oriental courtier. Tissaphernes was so much delighted with his society, that he is said to have given the name of Alcibiades to his favourite park. But for the purpose of gaining his patron's confidence, so as to make him the instrument of his own designs, Alcibiades well knew that something more was requisite than to minister to the amusements of his leisure hours. It was not a conformity of taste and habits, but of interests, that could effect a solid union between them. It was therefore his aim to draw Tissaphernes into the train of measures which he had planned for his own ends, by representing it as indispensable to his safety and prosperity.

The first step was not difficult. He counselled Tissaphernes to contract the supplies which he had hitherto furnished for the maintenance of the Peloponnesian fleet; and this advice was too congenial to the satrap's avarice not to be readily adopted. It was at the instigation of Alcibiades that he reduced the pay of the seamen from a drachma a day, first to three fifths and then to one half of that amount, and became gradually less and less punctual in his disbursements.¹ His counsellor likewise prompted him with arguments to meet the remonstrances of the Peloponnesians, instructing him to plead the example of the Athenians, who from motives not of parsimony but

¹ Krueger (Comment. ad Dionys. p. 354) seems to have quite bewildered himself in his account of these transactions. He has not observed that Thucydides, c. 45., clearly ascribes the first reduction of the pay to the influence of Alcibiades. He therefore resorts to conjectures equally unnecessary and improbable: that Tissaphernes made an addition out of his own coffers to the pay allowed by the king, so as to raise it to a drachma a day, which he then cut down to one half by the advice of Alcibiades; or that the words ἀντιδραχμῶς Ἀττικῶς are an interpolation.

of policy, for the preservation of temperance and discipline in their fleets, allowed their sailors only half a drachma a day : and he suggested to him that a small sum of money, judiciously distributed among the commanders of the allied forces, would silence their complaints; and in fact none but Hermocrates was able to withstand this bait. He himself undertook in the satrap's name to answer the applications which were made to him by the revolted cities for pecuniary aid. The Chians he dismissed with a sharp rebuke : " wealthy as they were, they ought to be ashamed of calling upon others, not only to risk their lives, but to spend their resources, for the defence of their liberty." The others he admonished that it was only reasonable they should contribute as much at least, if not more, for the protection of their independence, as they had heretofore paid to the Athenians. For all, there was one specious pretext to cover the rejection of their demands. " Tissaphernes was obliged to use a strict economy, so long as he carried on the war with his private funds : he would be both just and liberal, whenever he received a sufficient supply of treasure from the king."

But at the same time he endeavoured to impress Tissaphernes with a view of the war, and of his own relation to the belligerents, different from that which he had hitherto taken. Tissaphernes had hitherto been sincerely anxious to overthrow the power of Athens, which he had been used to consider as the only enemy that his master had to fear in the west, and he had been preparing to bring a great armament from Phœnicia to aid the Peloponnesians. Alcibiades now moderated his eagerness by pointing out to him a new and greater danger, with which the king would be threatened, if the same state should acquire the ascendancy in Greece both by sea and land. So long as Greece was divided between two rival powers, neither could ever be formidable to the king, who might always turn the arms of the one against the other. But if the empire of the sea should be united to that of the land, he might be brought into an

immediate and hazardous struggle with the single mistress of Greece. It was both cheaper and safer to let the Greeks grind each other down in a protracted conflict. If however it was necessary to side with either party, the king's interests were less at variance with those of Athens than with her rival's. Her views were mainly directed to the establishment of her maritime dominion ; and for the sake of securing it, she would probably be willing to resign the sovereignty of the Asiatic Greeks to the king ; whereas the Spartans professed themselves the champions of Grecian liberty and independence, and therefore, if they were victorious in their contest with Athens, could not consistently suffer the Greek colonies in Asia to remain subject to the Persian empire. It should therefore be the object of Tissaphernes first to extort what concessions he could from the Athenians, and then to rid himself of the Peloponnesians.

These suggestions sank deep in the mind of Tissaphernes, whose temper and capacity they exactly suited. He appears to have dismissed all intentions of bringing his Phœnician fleet into the Ægean, and to have resolved to use it only as a pretext for keeping the Peloponnesians inactive by the constant expectation of being soon joined by a force which would overwhelm the enemy, until the strength of their navy was wasted, whilst the most favourable opportunities were lost. He admitted Alcibiades to his most confidential intimacy, and Alcibiades it may be supposed did not fail to make the most public display of the footing which he had gained in the satrap's favour. The report of his potent influence, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, reached the Athenian camp at Samos, and produced such an effect there, that he now thought it time to intimate to some of the leading men that his resentment was not implacable, and that he would be no less willing than able to render the most important services to his country, if he might depend on returning to it with safety ; but that he could not feel secure so long as the government was in the hands of the same violent democratical party which had driven him

into exile. The persons to whom this message was sent, eagerly caught at the prospect which it held out, that Alcibiades would lend his aid toward overthrowing the constitution, and establishing an oligarchy, in which they would be among the principal members. The burdens to which the wealthier citizens were subjected since the Sicilian disaster, added to their ordinary causes of discontent, had worn out the patience of many, and disposed them to desire a revolution at any cost, even at the risk of sacrificing the independence of the state. They were therefore delighted with overtures which promised to gratify their chief wish, and by means which at the same time might enable them to overcome their foreign enemies. Some of them crossed over to the continent, and had an interview with Alcibiades, which confirmed their hopes, and quickened their resolution. Let democracy be abolished at Athens, and he engaged to put them upon good terms first with Tissaphernes and then with the king, who would be more inclined to trust them under a different government. On their return to Samos, they mustered their friends, and concerted their measures, which embraced not only Athens, but the subject states, in which they proposed to bring about a similar revolution; and they now ventured publicly to announce the offers of Alcibiades, with the condition annexed to them. The great body of the citizens in the fleet, startled by the sacrifice required from them, but attracted by the advantages of the Persian alliance, which would supply the deficiencies of their own exhausted treasury, remained in a state of suspense, which was interpreted by the authors of the project as acquiescence. Having made this first and most critical step, they again held a private meeting of their adherents, and took the proposals of Alcibiades into more mature consideration. No objection was offered by any one present, except by Phrynichus the general, an unprincipled but sharpsighted adventurer, who declared that he placed no confidence either in the intentions of Alcibiades, or in his ability to fulfil his promises, and that their whole scheme ap-

peared to him big with dangers which they had not sufficiently weighed. He could not believe that Alcibiades was at heart more friendly to oligarchy than to democracy, or that he desired any other revolution than one which would enable his partizans to bring him back in triumph : and they must be on their guard that he did not involve them in a civil war. On the other hand it seemed incredible that the king could ever be persuaded to expose himself to the enmity of the Peloponnesians, who were now formidable at sea and masters of several important cities in his dominions, for the sake of the Athenians, whom he could not trust. Their plan of establishing oligarchical government in the subject states, would, he was convinced, be attended with consequences which they did not expect. Instead of inducing the revolted towns to submit to their authority, it would encourage the others to rebel. What their subjects wanted was not a change in their constitution, but independence ; and if they were forced to continue under Athenian sovereignty, they would prefer the rule of the Athenian people to that of an oligarchy, which they knew by experience to be far more oppressive. It was by the very persons who would take the lead in an oligarchical government that they were plundered and trampled on, and it was to the people alone that they looked for protection, when their property or their persons were threatened with violence. If the supreme power should fall into the hands of their oppressors, they would have no refuge left.

These reflections do indeed give us a still higher opinion of the sagacity and judgment of Phrynichus, than the circumspection which he displayed on a former occasion in his military character. Thucydides adds the sanction of his own authority to the conjecture of Phrynichus as to the designs of Alcibiades ; and there can be no doubt that he would have preferred any form of democracy to the kind of oligarchy which his new friends wished to establish. But he seems to have had two motives for professing himself hostile to the

existing constitution. He might expect that the first attempt made to subvert it would involve the ruin of Androcles and other demagogues, his personal enemies, who, as long as they retained their influence, would stand in the way of his recall; and he might think that the condition which he attached to his offers, while it rendered them the more plausible, might serve as a colour for evasion and delay. Perhaps as the final result he anticipated a contest between two factions, in which he might be umpire, and might carry away the stake.

But the oligarchical party at Samos, making their wishes the measure of probability, slighted the warnings of Phrynichus, adhered to their first resolution, and sent a deputation to Athens headed by Pisander, one of the persons who had been most active in keeping up the public alarm in the affair of the *Hermes-busts*, to negotiate for the recall of Alcibiades, the abolition of democratical institutions, and alliance with Persia. Phrynichus now began to think his own position dangerous; he foresaw that, if Alcibiades should be restored, he should be exposed to his fiercest resentment, as the man who alone had endeavoured to thwart his views; he therefore determined to strike the first blow. He sent a letter to Astyochus, informing him of the injury that Alcibiades was doing to the Peloponnesian cause, and of the attempts he was making to gain Tissaphernes for Athens, adding an excuse or explanation of his own treachery. But Astyochus had neither the means nor the will to serve the wishes of Phrynichus. Alcibiades, after the warning he had received, no longer put himself in the power of the Spartans, and Astyochus, as clearly appears from the sequel, had sold himself to Tissaphernes. He repaired to Magnesia, where the satrap was residing, and communicated the contents of the letter to him and Alcibiades. Alcibiades immediately wrote to the principal officers at Samos, complaining of the treason of Phrynichus, and demanding that he should be put to death. On this occasion Phrynichus, blinded

perhaps by his fears, seems to have been deserted by his wonted sagacity; unless we should suppose his conduct the result of a very bold as well as subtle artifice. He again wrote to Astyochus, intimating no suspicion of his breach of secrecy, but only complaining of his want of caution, and offered to betray the Athenian armament into his hands, with the town of Samos, which like most of the others in Ionia was unfortified, minutely describing all the particulars of the plan. Astyochus betrayed this letter also to Alcibiades, who sent a fresh charge against Phrynichus to Samos. But before his despatch arrived there, Phrynichus—who had either discovered or foreseen the behaviour of Astyochus—announced that the enemy, as he had been informed on good authority, was preparing to take advantage of the weakness of the town and of the absence of a part of the fleet, and to surprise their encampment: and that no time should be lost in fortifying Samos, and taking other precautions; and he immediately gave his orders as general to the same effect. After this the letter of Alcibiades, which confirmed his information as to the enemy's designs, was not only harmless, but seemed to prove that both the charges were malicious fabrications. Alcibiades now laboured still more earnestly to convince Tissaphernes of the policy of siding with Athens; and the conference at Cnidus, which showed that he had judged rightly of the temper and views of Sparta, added fresh weight to his arguments. The satrap's inclination now tended this way; and he was only restrained from yielding to it by his fear of the Peloponnesians, whose naval superiority made it dangerous to provoke them.¹

In the mean while Pisander and his colleagues executed their commission at Athens with great success.

¹ This appears to be the meaning of Thucydides, viii. 52., and not to be improperly or harshly expressed according to the reading *πιστευόμενοι*. According to the reading *πιστευόμενοι*, which Krueger prefers, the views attributed to Tissaphernes, whether it was the confidence of Alcibiades or that of the Athenians that he is supposed to desire to gain, would, even if in themselves probable, be much more obscurely intimated.

In the popular assembly he exhibited the prospect which was now opened of overcoming the Peloponnesians with the aid of Persia, and stated the terms on which this benefit was to be purchased: that the decree against Alcibiades must first be repealed, and that some changes must be made in the constitution. Pisander had to encounter a vehement opposition both from the ardent friends of democracy, and from the personal enemies of Alcibiades. He probably had some in the great priestly families the Eumolpids and Ceryces, which filled the most important offices in the Eleusinian mysteries. They endeavoured to alarm the superstition of the people, while others appealed to its pride, and exclaimed against the indignity of making a way for the return of Alcibiades on the ruin of the laws. But the main point had been already gained, when the public spirit was brought down to a state in which it could tolerate such a proposal, though cautiously worded, so as to leave it doubtful what parts of its institutions the people would be required to sacrifice. Pisander felt the strong ground on which he stood, and was not moved either by the indignant protestations of the demagogues, or by the solemn adjurations of the priests, but calmly called on his opponents to answer a plain question. He successively interrogated each of them, whether he saw any hope of safety for the commonwealth, now that the Peloponnesians had raised a navy at least as powerful as their own, which was maintained by Persian gold, and were masters of more cities than remained attached to the Athenian confederacy, unless the King could be brought over to their side. None ventured to reply in the affirmative, and Pisander triumphantly concluded: "The only way of gaining this ally is to temper our constitution, and to fill the chief offices of the state, in such a manner that he may be able to trust us: this is not a time to discuss forms of government, but to provide for the public safety. If the innovations that may be expedient for the present should not satisfy us, they may be hereafter revised.

Alcibiades must be restored; for he is the only man who can accomplish the object for which these changes are to be made." Urged by the apparent necessity of the case, and soothed by the hope of resuming its concessions, the people yielded, and passed a decree, by which Pisander and ten other commissioners were invested with full powers to negotiate with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades. Pisander at the same time, wishing to get rid of Phrynichus, imputed the fall of Iasus to his treachery. He and Scironides, one of his colleagues, were recalled, and Leon and Diomedon were sent to supply their place.

Pisander neither had fully disclosed the nature of the political changes which he had in view, nor did he mean to rely on the consent of the people for bringing them about. He had more convenient instruments at his command. In most of the Greek states the ambition of individuals, or the conflict of parties, had given rise to a number of private associations, for purposes either wholly or mainly political, some attached to a single leader, others united by the common interests of the members. These clubs were of long standing at Athens. Cimon had formed one, which rallied round him as its centre, attracted not more perhaps by his fortune and abilities than by his principles, shared the reproach which he incurred by his partiality for Sparta, and proved its devotedness to his person at the battle of Tanagra. It seems to have been by means of a similar union that Thucydides, the rival of Pericles, endeavoured to collect and guide the strength of the aristocratical party. It was so perhaps that Nicias and Alcibiades had been enabled to defeat the attempt of Hyperbolus. It was on his command over such associations that Alcibiades relied for the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. But there appear to have been many political clubs at Athens, which did not acknowledge any chief, but merely aimed at certain objects in which all the members were equally concerned. The defective administration of justice exposed unprotected individuals

to vexation and wrong, but enabled a number who combined their fortunes and credit the more easily to shield each other, or to strike a common enemy. Another end for which such coalitions were formed, was to control the elections for offices of trust and power, either with a view to self-defence, or to the extension of their influence. In every case both the object and the means, if not positively illegal, were such as the law did not recognise; the mutual attachment of the associates was stronger than the ties by which they were bound to the state, and even than those of blood; and the law of honour which generally prevailed among them required that they should shrink from no sacrifice and from no crime, which the common interest might demand. These associations therefore were hotbeds of seditious and revolutionary projects; and Phrynichus found it easy to engage them on his side; and before he left Athens, he had organised an extensive conspiracy among them for the immediate subversion of the democratical government.

Leon and Diomedon arrived off the coast of Asia before him to take the command of the fleet, and soon after sailed to Rhodes to inspect the enemy's condition. They found the Peloponnesian fleet still laid up, but made a landing on the island and gained a victory over the troops which marched against them, and then stationed themselves at Chalce to watch the movements of the enemy, and to seize all occasions of annoying him. While they were here Pedaritus sent to Rhodes, to announce that the Athenians had completed their works, and that Chios could only be saved by the immediate succour of the whole Peloponnesian armament. But before it could move to his relief, collecting all his land forces, he made a sudden attack on the enemy's naval camp, and succeeded in storming it, and in taking some of their galleys which were hauled up there; but the Athenians soon brought up their main body, and an action ensued in which he was defeated and slain. The siege now became closer than before, both by sea and land, and the Chians began to suffer greatly from hunger.

About the same time Pisander and his colleagues arrived, and opened the negotiation with which they were entrusted, and which Alcibiades conducted on behalf of Tissaphernes. But affairs were no longer in the state in which Pisander had left them, when he was deputed by the oligarchical party at Samos to Athens. Tissaphernes was then, in appearance at least, wavering between the two belligerents, but inclined to espouse the cause of the Athenians. His however was a character in which fear predominated over every other impulse, and he had soon abandoned all thoughts of the more hazardous course which had been last suggested by Alcibiades, which would have involved him in a contest with the Peloponnesians, and recurred to the plan, which, when it was first proposed to him, he had adopted with entire approbation, of letting both powers waste themselves in a protracted conflict with each other. Alcibiades saw that he could not hope to lead the satrap beyond the line of neutrality, and had therefore to devise a scheme for saving his credit, and extricating himself from his engagements. He determined to force the Athenians themselves to break off the negotiations by making demands which it was impossible for them to grant; and Tissaphernes thought it prudent to mask his intentions, and to leave a door open for a future accommodation, and was therefore willing that they should seem to have rejected his overtures. The conferences were held in his presence, and Alcibiades, who spoke for him, advanced in his demands, as the Athenian commissioners gave way. He was hardly prepared for the full extent of their compliance. Even when he exacted the cession of all Ionia and of the adjacent islands, he found them still yielding. But when, in a third interview, he required that the king should be at liberty to keep as many ships as he would on the sea, and to send them in any direction along his own coasts, the patience of the commissioners was exhausted. This seemed equivalent to an abdication of the maritime sovereignty

of Athens ; and being now convinced that Alcibiades was trifling with them, they indignantly put an end to the negotiation, and returned to Samos.

Having thus broken with the Athenians, Tissaphernes made it his next care to sooth the Peloponnesians ; and he immediately proceeded to Caunus, and invited their commanders to an interview. He saw that the policy he had adopted required that he should open his coffers to them ; that without a supply of money they could not maintain their fleet, or would be compelled to hazard a battle on disadvantageous terms with the Athenians ; in either case the balance which he wished to preserve would be lost. There was however beside a danger to apprehend, which still more nearly concerned him. Urged by their need, and irritated by his conduct, they might easily be tempted to seize by force what he withheld from them, and at once to satisfy their wants and their revenge, by plundering and ravaging his province. Yet, after the conference at Cnidus, they could not accept his subsidies until a new treaty had been concluded, on terms which would remove the objections of Lichas. All therefore he could attempt was to save his master's dignity as far as possible, and to elude the jealousy of Sparta by vague and ambiguous language.

These objects he seems to have accomplished in a third treaty, dated from the plain of the Meander, but ratified, it would appear, by the governors of all the western maritime provinces of Persia. For, beside Tissaphernes, the sons of Pharnaces, the father of Pharnabazus, are mentioned as parties, with a personage named Hieramenes, probably the same who is elsewhere said to have married a sister of Darius. In this treaty the article which had before given offence was so limited, as to imply nothing inconsistent with the independence of the European Greeks, but yet so as not to renounce any claim that the Persian king had ever advanced, and distinctly enough, though in a singular form, to recognise his right to the sovereignty of the Asiatic colonies. It declared, that the king's country, so far as it lay in Asia, belonged to

the king : language which could have no meaning, unless it referred to districts which had for a time ceased to be subject to him in fact : and in this sense it seems to have been understood by all parties. A more explicit stipulation than was contained in either of the preceding treaties as to the maintenance of the Peloponnesian fleet was introduced into this, though with reference to a previous compact the terms of which are not stated. Tissaphernes engages to furnish pay for the ships which had been sent from Peloponnesus, according to the original contract¹, until those which the king was fitting out should arrive. After that the Peloponnesians must either maintain their own armament, or consider all the supplies which they receive for that purpose from Tissaphernes — though he bound himself to advance them — as a loan to be repaid at the end of the war, which was to be carried on in concert by the two allied fleets. As soon as this treaty was concluded, Tissaphernes executed one part of its conditions, by an immediate payment, and assumed the appearance of actively preparing to bring up the great Phœnician fleet, to which the two contending parties had long been looking forward with anxious expectation.

The Peloponnesians now determined to return, as Tissaphernes himself wished them to do, to Miletus. But before they had left Rhodes, they were invited by an embassy from Eretria to lend their aid toward effecting the revolt which had been long meditated in Eubœa. One of the main obstacles to the execution of that design had been recently removed. The town of Oropus, which, so long as it remained in the hands of the Athe-

¹ *Χώσαν τῆς βασιλείας, ὅση τῆς Ἀσίας ἴσσι, βασιλεὺς ἴδαι.* Thuc. viii. 58.

² *Κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα.* It is not clear whether this refers to the rate of pay, or only to the general undertaking mentioned viii. 5., *ὑπισχνέσθαι τροφὴν παρῆξιν.* The rate of pay specified at Sparta appears, from viii. 29., to have been a drachma a day. But it seems that after the third treaty with Tissaphernes the Peloponnesians contented themselves with the ordinary allowance ; for Xenophon, *Hell.* i. 5.5., speaks of a contract by which the king had engaged to give half a drachma a day. Krueger, p. 356., supposes that this was the rate always implied when no particular sum was expressed.

nians, afforded them the means of continually annoying the island, and especially its opposite neighbour Eretria, had been betrayed to the Bœotians, notwithstanding the presence of an Athenian garrison, by a party of the citizens, aided by some Eretrians, who were now eager to shake off the authority of Athens. But the Peloponnesian commanders considered the relief of Chios as an object of superior importance, and toward the beginning of the spring of 411 set sail from Rhodes with their whole armament. In their passage, off the Triopian foreland, they saw the Athenian fleet, which had just left its station at Chalce. There was no disposition on either side to risk an immediate attack ; but this movement of the Athenians, who arrived at Samos about the same time that the enemy reached Miletus, convinced the Peloponnesians that they should not be able to relieve Chios without a battle. But while they remained in suspense, the Chians, hard pressed by the siege, made a vigorous effort for their own deliverance. A Spartan named Leon, who accompanied Antisthenes to Miletus, had taken the command in the room of Pedaritus, and had brought a squadron of twelve galleys, which had been left to guard Miletus while the fleet lay at Rhodes. With this reinforcement the Chians were able to man thirty-six galleys¹; the Athenians only numbered thirty-two. The besieged drew out their whole military force, and occupied a strong position, while their fleet advanced against the enemy. A warm engagement ensued, which lasted till late in the evening ; and the Chians, if not victorious, were at least not worsted ; and this, in an action with an Athenian fleet nearly equal in numbers, was still a triumph. This success was immediately followed by a happy change in the state of their affairs. Early in the spring Dercyllidas, a Spartan, marched from Miletus with a small body of troops toward the Helles-

¹ Nothing, it might have been supposed, can be clearer than the statement of Thucydides, viii. 61., that the Chians had received the reinforcement brought to them by Leon, *before* they went out to fight the Athenians, and did not go out to meet him. Perhaps some Latin translator has obscured the author's meaning.

pont, to excite the cities in the satrapy of Pharnabazus to revolt from Athens. As soon as he arrived there Abydos opened her gates to him, and Lampsacus imitated the example two days after. On hearing of these events Strombichides sailed from Chios with twenty-four ships, including some transports, and took Lampsacus, an unwall'd city, by storm, after defeating its troops; but contented himself with the pillage, and permitted the citizens to return to their dwellings. He then marched against Abydos, but could not succeed there either by force or persuasion, and therefore crossed over to Sestus, which he made his station for the protection of the Hellespont. After his departure the Chians became decidedly superior to the enemy by sea, and Astyochus ventured to sail along the coast with two galleys to Chios, and to bring away the squadron with which they had been last reinforced to Miletus.¹ The armament under his command now amounted to upwards of a hundred sail, and he soon after appeared with it before Samos to offer battle to the Athenians. But the state of affairs at Samos, which he was probably acquainted with, did not permit them to accept his challenge, and he sailed back to Miletus.

Pisander and his colleagues were not disheartened by the issue of their negotiation with Tissaphernes, and on their return to Samos, they both strengthened the resolutions of the oligarchical faction in the fleet, and found means to form a new oligarchical party among the Samians, who had so lately overpowered and persecuted their own nobility. Their Athenian partizans, though sensible of their weakness and danger, came to the determination of renouncing all dependence on Alcibiades, who, they began to see, could never become a cordial adherent to such a cause as theirs, and prepared to meet the emergency by extraordinary efforts and

¹ VIII. 63. *καὶ οὕτως ἀνέστησαν τὰς ναῦς*. Not certainly all the ships — which the Chians would not have parted with — and therefore it seems that Leon's squadron must be referred to. Yet the Chians might have added some of their own, so as to raise the number of the Peloponnesian fleet from 94 to 112. Krueger, p. 303, supposes that the galleys not accounted for may have been furnished by the Rhodians.

sacrifices, to which they encouraged one another by the reflection, that they should no longer be labouring for any end but their own private advantage. With this purpose they sent Pisander home, with five of his colleagues, to prosecute the work which he had begun there, and instructed them to establish oligarchical government in all the subject cities at which they might stop in their voyage: and the remaining five were despatched on the like mission to other quarters. Diotrepes, who had been appointed to command on the coast of Thrace, was sent from Chios with instructions of the same kind. Accordingly on his arrival at Thasos he abolished the democratical constitution. But the result of this change was very different from that which its authors expected, though Phrynichus had predicted it. Within two months after, when Diotrepes had left the island, the Thasians began to fortify their city, and prepared to resume their independence; and a party of refugees who, from their places of exile in Peloponnesus, had long been concerting measures with their friends at home for this end, unexpectedly found the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of their designs—the opposition of the commonalty—removed by the Athenians themselves. And such, Thucydides observes, were the consequences of the revolution in most of the states where it was effected. Instead of reconciling them to the rule of Athens, it was viewed not as an equivalent for independence, but as a step toward it: and the sober wary spirit of the oligarchical governments¹ rendered their success the more certain.

Pisander, while he executed his commission, drew some reinforcements of armed followers from several of the cities where he established oligarchical ascendancy on his voyage to Athens. On his arrival he found that during his absence great progress had been made there

¹ Σωφροσύνη, viii. 64. This quality seems to be mentioned here with reference not to the motives for desiring the change, but to the means of effecting it. But the expression σωφροσύνη λαοόφται is very singular and obscure.

toward the completion of the work which he had set on foot. His associates, by the language which they openly held, had prepared the public mind for various changes in the laws and constitution, some of which were clearly desirable, and none very repugnant to the feelings of moderate men. They contended that no pay ought to be allowed for any but military service; a reform levelled against the abuses of the courts of justice, and the popular assembly, but which was also strongly recommended by grounds of economy. It was intimately connected with another measure, which they suggested at the same time as the basis of the new constitution, for limiting the enjoyment of all political rights to a body of not more than five thousand citizens, who were to be chosen with regard both to property and to personal qualifications. Thucydides justly admires the ingenuity of this proposal. The number was large enough to conciliate those who had apprehended that the oligarchy to be prescribed to them was to be formed on a much narrower foundation, and who did not perceive the hollowness of this seeming liberality; and it secured the good-will of all who might hope to be included in the privileged class, and who were not aware that its privileges would be merely nominal, and that the authors of the revolution would reserve the substance of power to themselves.¹ But while the leaders of the party covered their designs with these specious professions, some of their younger associates were serving their cause in a different manner, by ridding themselves of their most obnoxious and formidable adversaries. Androcles was first marked out, both as a powerful demagogue, interested in upholding democracy, and as a victim the most agreeable to his enemy Alcibiades, on whom the hopes of the oligarchs at Athens still rested. He was removed by secret assassination.

¹ Thuc. viii. 66. ἐπεὶ ἔξισιν γε τὴν πόλιν οὐτις καὶ μεθίστασαν ἔμελλον. The manner in which these words have sometimes been interpreted proves that a moderate acquaintance with the language of the Greek authors may be as useful a qualification for a historian of Greece, as the art of handling an oar or of shouldering a firelock.

and some other persons who were deemed irreconcilably hostile to their plans shared his fate. These proofs of reckless daring and determined resolution struck all classes of the citizens with terror, and prepared them passively to submit to the will of the party which wielded such instruments. No formal change indeed was yet made in the mechanism of the constitution ; the popular assembly and the council of five hundred still met, as usual, for the transaction of public business ; but they deliberated under fear of the oligarchical dagger, which was sure to reach every one who thwarted the wishes of the conspirators. And thus by degrees they usurped the entire management of affairs, were the only speakers in every debate, and no proposition was brought forward, either in the council or the assembly, which had not been previously discussed in their private meetings. Their boldness created an exaggerated persuasion of their strength. As the extent of the conspiracy could not be ascertained, none could know that any man he met, whether friend or stranger, was not privy to it ; and some notorious cases, in which men who were believed most adverse to oligarchy were discovered to have taken a part in it, contributed to destroy all mutual confidence among the patriotic citizens, and to stifle every murmur of indignation, and all counsels of resistance.

Such was the state of affairs when Pisander arrived ; and though he had totally failed in the principal object of his mission, the undertaking had advanced too far, and his associates were too deeply engaged in it, to be affected by this disappointment. The aid of Alcibiades was only important with a view to the foreign war ; the domestic revolution now stood in no need of him, and in some respects even gained strength by his estrangement from it. Neither Pisander nor any of the principal conspirators were personally attached to him ; most of them perhaps were secretly jealous of him, and their rupture with him procured one very useful accession to their party. Phrynichus, as soon as he perceived that

the establishment of oligarchy, instead of furthering the restoration of Alcibiades, would be an effectual bar to it, became one of their warmest abettors. Among the rest there was probably a great diversity of views and motives. Antiphon, the man whom Thucydides represents as the soul of the plot, and whose character and abilities he describes with the affectionate admiration of a friend and a scholar¹, was a person qualified perhaps for filling a station like that of Pericles, but neither capable of reaching such an eminence, nor disposed to acquiesce in a lower sphere; and it seems to have been disappointed ambition that made him hostile to the democratical institutions under which he felt himself depressed below his proper level. Thucydides extols his eloquence, which he had cultivated with extraordinary care—undoubtedly as an instrument for acquiring reputation and power—and believes that he was only prevented from displaying it in the popular assembly by the jealousy which the people conceived of his intellectual superiority, and that finding himself thus excluded from public life, he aided those who were unable to plead their own cause to the assembly or the courts of justice with his counsels. Antiphon indeed is said to have been the first orator who wrote speeches for his clients², as he was one of the first that opened a school of rhetoric. But that he was driven to this occupation by the cause which Thucydides mentions, is a view of the matter which we can hardly adopt even on this authority. Athens had surely been too long inured to the presence of great men to be alarmed by the genius of Antiphon, even if he had had ampler means of displaying it, and though it may have been much more powerful than the literary remains attributed

¹ By this we do not mean that the testimony to the fact, that Thucydides was the disciple of Antiphon, is decisive, though we know of no reason for questioning its truth. But even if the manner in which Thucydides speaks of him was the sole ground of the tradition, it will be not the less true that from some cause or other the historian does use language which naturally suggests the thought of such a relation. See the dissertation *De Antiphonte*, in Ruhnken's *Opuscula*, p. 2, 10.

² See the dissertation *de Antiph.* p. 18.

to him would have led us to suppose. But the eloquence which Thucydides admired, and which perhaps contributed to form his own, may not have been of the kind best adapted to sway the popular assembly, where, we venture to believe, that Thucydides himself would never have produced any great effect. But if by this or any other cause Antiphon was prevented from taking a part in public affairs, we could understand both why he was discontented with the existing order of things, and how he might incur the suspicion of disaffection, which naturally fell on a man of eminent talents, who kept aloof from all political pursuits. It seems that he had harboured the project of a revolution long before circumstances were ripe for carrying it into effect¹; he had probably never ceased to direct his thoughts toward this object, since the failure of the Athenian expedition opened a clearer prospect of success; and it would not be a groundless conjecture, if we ascribed the institution of the extraordinary council already mentioned² to his suggestion; it at least shows a close affinity to measures which were undoubtedly his. It was he who had concerted the whole plan which was now about to be put into immediate execution; and he had no doubt a very distinct conception of his own ultimate aims. But it is probable that these were still a secret to many of his associates, who may have been no less deceived by his professions, than those who were entirely strangers to his schemes. In the number of those who had thus been drawn into an undertaking the precise nature of which they did not understand, we may reckon Theramenes, son of Hagnon, a person whose character will be more clearly unfolded in the progress of the history by his actions, than it would be by words. He is coupled by Thucydides with Antiphon, Phrynichus, and Pisander, as a prime leader in the conspiracy. But it seems evident that, though he was one of their most active instruments, he never was admitted to their inmost councils.

¹ *Ἐκ πλείστον ἐπιμελετής.* vii. 68.

² Above, p. 3.

After the return of Pisander it only remained to give a legal form to that supreme authority which he and his associates had already in substance usurped. The first step was to hold an assembly of the people, in which ten commissioners were appointed, under the title of Compilers¹, with full powers to frame any measure which they might judge expedient for the better government of the commonwealth, to be laid before the people on a certain day. When the day came, the assembly was held, not at Athens, but in a celebrated sanctuary of Poseidon, at Colonus, a village a mile or two from the city: a precaution probably for the purpose of making it more select and subservient. The commissioners however only brought in a proposal for a decree, which made it lawful for every Athenian to propose any measure he might think fit, without fear either of the prosecution to which the movers of illegal propositions were liable, or of any other ill consequence, and threatening all who should attempt to restrain this freedom with severe penalties. As soon as this decree was passed, the principal articles of the new constitution were openly brought forward. They included an entire change in the mode of filling public offices, the nature of which Thucydides does not explain. It may have related both to the term for which they were held, and to the process of appointment, which was probably no longer subjected to chance. The principle was laid down that no pay should be granted for any but military service. The limitation of the highest franchise to five thousand citizens, would seem only to have been declared in general terms, as a measure the details of which were reserved to another time. But the most important of the proposed institutions was a new council, which was to take the place of the Five Hundred. Five presidents² were to be first appointed, who were to elect a hundred persons, and each of these three others, so as to make up a body of Four Hundred, which was to be invested

¹ *Ἐγγεφίας ἀποκράτορας*. Thuc. viii. 67.

² *Προέδραι*.

with unlimited power. What limit was assigned to the duration of their office, whether it depended in any way on the five original electors, and whether these had any further share in the government, are points on which Thucydides has not gratified our curiosity. The Four Hundred were to have the power of assembling the Five Thousand as often as they thought proper. Whether these assemblies were in theory to possess equal authority with those held under the old constitution, we do not learn. But the clause which left their meetings to depend on the pleasure of the Four Hundred seems to have been so worded as to cherish the persuasion that the Five Thousand were to be a real and effective body.

All the articles were adopted without opposition, and the mock assembly was dismissed. The Four Hundred, as soon as they were elected, proceeded to assume the reins of government. But they did not feel sure that the Five Hundred would quietly resign their places, and apprehended that their resistance might rouse a general insurrection. Against this danger they thought it necessary to take extraordinary precautions. Ever since the enemy had occupied Decelea, all Athenians capable of military service had been kept on duty, with no intermission but for needful refreshment, either on the walls, or at their arms, which were piled in constant readiness for action in various parts of the city. On the day appointed for the expulsion of the old council, the adherents of the oligarchs were directed, when they withdrew with their comrades from their stands, to let the rest disperse, but themselves to remain at a short distance from the arms, to wait for the turn of events; and they were reinforced with some troops which were brought over for the purpose—perhaps the same which accompanied Pisander—from Andros, Tenos, Carystus, and Ægina. The Four Hundred then armed themselves each with a short sword, which they probably did not take great care to conceal, and, escorted by a hundred and twenty of the younger conspirators, whom they se-

lected as a permanent guard, proceeded to the council chamber, where the Five Hundred appear to have been all assembled. But as they were unarmed, a less formidable display of force might have been sufficient to overawe them. When they were commanded to leave the room they silently obeyed, and at the door each received his pay for the remainder of the year. The rest of the citizens were equally passive; and the Four Hundred quietly installed themselves with the religious ceremonies usual on such occasions, and drew lots for their presiding members under the constitutional title of prytanes.

There were perhaps not wanting advocates of the oligarchy, who represented the erection of the new council as a return to Solon's institutions. But the spirit of a government, hostile to the great body of the people, which could only reign, as it had usurped its authority, by terror, soon made itself felt in every part of the administration. Obnoxious citizens were removed, a few by executions, others by imprisonment or exile. Only one of the measures which commonly accompanied a revolution in a Greek city was wanting on this occasion. The refugees, many of whom might have been useful auxiliaries, were not recalled, through fear of Alcibiades, whom it was probably deemed imprudent to provoke, by excepting him from a general act of indulgence. But still the government was aware that it had no chance of permanently keeping its ground without foreign support; and one of its first objects was to make peace with Sparta. It addressed its overtures to Agis, and urged its claims to the confidence of an oligarchical power. But the Spartan king, believing these proposals to be the effect of conscious weakness, and thinking it impossible that so great a revolution could have been quietly brought about, gave no encouragement to the envoys, but sent for a strong reinforcement from Peloponnesus, and, as soon as he had received it, marched down from Decelea toward Athens. He hoped either to find disorder prevailing within the city, or to

create it by the approach of his army; and expected that, even if the gates were not thrown open to him on his own terms, he should at least be able to carry the Long Walls, which in a time of general confusion would be left unprotected, at the first assault. But he was disappointed by the unanimity with which the Athenians were inspired by the presence of the invaders. All remained tranquil within, and as he came near to the city, the foremost of his troops were charged by a body of cavalry, supported by heavy and light infantry, who cut down some, and kept possession of the slain. This repulse convinced him of his error: he gave orders for retreat, and a few days after dismissed the newly arrived troops. He now listened more favourably to the Athenian oligarchs, who, not discouraged by their failure or by the recent display of his hostile designs, renewed their application to him, and by his advice sent an embassy to treat for peace at Sparta.

They had likewise, as soon as the revolution was accomplished, deputed ten of their number to Samos—where they foresaw that their proceedings would probably give great offence to the mass of the citizens in the fleet, and might provoke a dangerous opposition—to vindicate the purity of their intentions, and to exhibit the changes which had just taken place in the fairest light. The seamen were to be informed that the government was in the hands, not of the Four Hundred only, but of five thousand citizens, a greater number than the calls of foreign service in war time had ever permitted to assemble at Athens for deliberation on any subject, however important.¹ The sound of this argument was probably designed to catch the unthinking, and to persuade them that the new institutions were really more popular than those which

¹ This, Dr. Arnold observes, cannot have been literally true, since there were occasions which required the presence of six thousand citizens in the assembly. But the assertion is clearly limited to times of war; and it could hardly have been ventured upon, even by so impudent a faction, if it had not been at least generally well founded. The learned reader needs not to be informed that Thucydides does not make this assertion himself.

had been abolished.¹ In substance it seems to turn upon the fallacy, that a right which can be but seldom exercised is therefore of little value. But the effect which it would have produced at this time on the minds of the hearers cannot be estimated. For the deputation was stopt on its way by intelligence of some untoward events, which had occurred at Samos during the time that the Four Hundred were establishing their dominion at Athens, and was induced to wait at Delos until it should find an opportunity of executing its commission with a fairer prospect of success.

Pisander, as we have seen, before his departure from Samos, had formed a new oligarchical faction there in the bosom of the commonalty itself, composed of persons who were averse not to the principles, but only to the power of the defeated party, or who had been forced to dissemble their sentiments. They soon grew into a band of about 300 conspirators, and thought themselves strong enough to overthrow the democratical government; a design in which they were warmly encouraged by their Athenian friends, whom, to prove their zeal, they abetted in several acts of violence, similar to those by which the partizans of oligarchy had silenced opposition at Athens. Hyperbolus was at this time living at Samos: whether he took any part in the late political transactions does not appear. It is probable that he had several enemies in the fleet; and among them Charminus, one of the generals. The Samian conspirators aided them in assassinating him, and it seems that their hatred was not satiated by his death, but that they put his body into a sack, and sank it in the sea.² The impunity with which they perpetrated

¹ This is a remark of the Greek scholiast on Thuc. viii. 72.

² Theopompus, quoted by the Scholiast on Lucian, Timon, c.30. and Schol. Arist. Pax. 689. It is only for the sake of readers who do not understand the language of Thucydides we need observe, that he does not mean that Charminus was *with some others unfortunately killed*, but that the Samians, in conjunction with Charminus and some other Athenians, killed Hyperbolus, and committed other like acts. But it required no common effrontery, first to omit all mention of Hyperbolus, and then to represent the death of Charminus as an *unfortunate accident*—because it was supposed to be an *oligarchical murder*.

this and other like deeds animated the Samians to the greater enterprise which they were meditating ; but it seems also to have rendered them so confident of success, that they did not take sufficient care to conceal their purpose. The commonalty, having discovered its danger, applied to some of the Athenian commanders and other leading men, who were known to be adverse to the plans of the oligarchs, for assistance to ward off the blow, the effect of which would be to alienate Samos, hitherto the main support of the shaken power of Athens, from the Athenian democracy. Among the generals, Leon and Diomedon were sincerely attached to the institutions under which they had risen to a station which satisfied their honourable ambition ; and, among the persons of chief note in an inferior rank, Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, who commanded a galley, and Thrasyllus, who was serving in the army, shared their sentiments, and exerted their influence with the soldiers and seamen, to engage them to resist the threatened attack. The crew of the state galley, the *Paralus*, which was entirely manned by Athenian citizens, were especially ready to comply with their call ; and with their aid the conspirators, when they made their attempt, were repulsed and overpowered. Thirty were killed in the affray ; but the survivors were treated with extraordinary lenity. Three only—the principal ringleaders—were punished with banishment ; the rest received a free pardon and amnesty.

This event decided the triumph of the democratical cause in the Athenian armament ; and as the revolution which took place about the same time at Athens was not yet known at Samos, Chœreas, one of the persons who had taken the most active part in the late proceedings, was despatched on board the *Paralus*, to announce what it was supposed would be agreeable news to the government. But on its arrival the Four Hundred threw two or three of the most obnoxious among the ship's company into prison ; and transferred the rest to another galley, which was ordered to a station on the coast of Eubœa.

Chœreas himself made his escape, and, returning to Samos, spread an exaggerated report of the tyranny of the new government, charging it with wanton outrages on the persons and families of the citizens, and with the design of arresting the relatives of those who were serving at Samos, and of keeping them as hostages, to be put to death if the fleet should hold out against the oligarchy. These calumnies so irritated the multitude, that it was with difficulty they were restrained by the remonstrances of their more discreet friends, who pointed out the danger of a tumult in the camp while the enemy was so near at hand, from falling on the chief authors of the oligarchical conspiracy. But Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus took this opportunity to bind them by a solemn oath, which was exacted even from those who were known to entertain opposite sentiments, to maintain democratical government and mutual concord, and to persevere in the war with the Peloponnesians, and in implacable enmity toward the Four Hundred. All the Samians of ripe age took the same oath, and were henceforth indissolubly united with the Athenians of the fleet by a sense of common interests and dangers.

After this an assembly was held in the camp, in which the generals and some of the captains who were suspected of disaffection, were removed, and their places filled with more trustworthy men: among the new generals were Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus. The speakers who came forward in this assembly animated their hearers boldly to maintain their rights against the oligarchical usurpers. The city, they observed, had revolted from them, who, as they were greatly superior in numbers and strength, might properly regard themselves as representing the state. Their means of collecting supplies from their subjects, and of carrying on the war, were just the same as ever, though Samos — once a formidable rival of the Athenian power — was now to them what Athens had hitherto been. The navy had not only provided for its own subsistence, but had secured that of the city, which without the protection which they af-

forded to its commerce would soon be reduced to distress, and might thus be compelled to respect the claims of so numerous a body of citizens, whom the oligarchs had disfranchised. They might very well dispense with all the assistance they could hope to receive from Athens in their contest with the enemy. Its treasury was empty, and it could not even pretend to direct them with its counsels; for in upholding their hereditary constitution, they had shown as great a superiority in wisdom over those who abolished it, at they possessed in power to restore it. The name of Alcibiades was also held out as an encouragement. It was still assumed that he was able to transfer the alliance of Persia from the enemy to them, and that he would gladly purchase his own recall at this price. Should all other resources fail, with such a naval force as they possessed, they had their choice of many cities and territories, where they might find a new home.

Before these disturbances had subsided, the rumour of them reached Miletus, and contributed to irritate the discontent which had for some time prevailed in the armament at the conduct of Astyochus and Tissaphernes. The satrap, after he had gained his point by the treaty concluded in the winter, had become as remiss as before in making the stipulated payments, and the Spartan admiral not only connived at this breach of faith, and omitted to second the remonstrances of Hermocrates and others who loudly complained of it, but, affecting to place entire confidence in the professions of Tissaphernes, under pretence of waiting for the Phœnician galleys, kept the fleet in a state of inaction in which its strength was continually wearing away. Even when the report of the intestine dissensions which were agitating the camp at Samos, while a considerable part of the Athenian forces was in the Hellespont, seemed to offer the most favourable opportunity for attacking the remainder, Astyochus showed no disposition to take advantage of it; till at length the murmurs of the men, especially of the Syracusans grew so loud, that he no longer ventured to

neglect them ; but held a council of war, in which it was determined to make an attempt to draw the enemy into a decisive engagement. Accordingly the fleet, which had been raised by the reinforcements last received from Chios, to 112 galleys, moved toward Mycalé, while the Milesian troops were ordered to march in the same direction to support it. The Athenians with 82 galleys were at this time lying off Glaucé, a point on the coast at the foot of Mycalé divided by a narrow channel from Samos ; and perceiving the Peloponnesians approaching with a force which they thought it imprudent to encounter, they sailed across to their own camp. No measures, it seems, had been preconcerted for the event, though it was one which might have been reasonably expected, of their declining a battle ; and Astyochus did not desire one. He, however, formed an encampment, both for his naval and land forces, on the coast of Mycalé, and the next day prepared to sail up to Samos. But he was stopt by the intelligence that Strombichides had arrived with his squadron from the Hellespont. He had been sent for as soon as it was known that the Peloponnesians were meditating a hostile movement ; and the ships which he brought with him raised the numbers of the Athenians to 108. Astyochus immediately led his armament back to Miletus ; and when the Athenians came up and challenged him in their turn, he kept within the harbour.

His judgment in avoiding a battle with an enemy so little inferior in numerical strength, seems not to have been questioned ; but as offensive movements were held to be no longer practicable in this quarter, and the difficulty of providing for the subsistence of the armament became more pressing, while the supplies of Tissaphernes grew every day scantier, it was thought expedient to embrace the offers of Pharnabazus, who had sent repeated invitations with the promise of furnishing pay for as many ships as should come to him, and to carry into effect that part of the original plan of operations which related to the Hellespont. Overtures which were

received at the same time from Byzantium enforced these motives; and Clearchus was despatched with a squadron of forty galleys: it was, however, dispersed by a storm which overtook it on the open sea, into which he ventured out, to escape the notice of the Athenians; and only ten galleys, under the command of Helixus the Megarian, held on their course to the Hellespont. Their arrival, however, gave the Byzantians courage to revolt. Clearchus himself, with the rest of his squadron, after having put into Delos for shelter, returned to Miletus; and thence he proceeded by land to the Hellespont. The Athenians also despatched a small force to the same quarter from Samos.

In the meanwhile Thrasybulus and his colleagues, who had always looked to Alcibiades as the chief hope of their cause, in the contest which they had to maintain against his and their common enemies, at length procured a decree from the camp-assembly, by which he was pardoned and recalled. Thrasybulus, who was the principal author of the measure, himself sailed to fetch him from the court of Tissaphernes, and brought him to Samos, where an assembly was held to receive him. He addressed it in language fitted to move its sympathy with his personal misfortunes, and to cheer it with brighter prospects of public affairs. He magnified the influence which he pretended to possess over Tissaphernes to an extravagant degree; and his object, Thucydides observes, in this exaggeration, was not merely to dazzle and encourage his hearers: he knew that an account of his speech would find its way both to Athens and to the Peloponnesian camp; and he hoped that his assertions would inspire the oligarchical faction with terror, and the Peloponnesians with such distrust of Tissaphernes as might lead to an open rupture. He therefore did not scruple to pretend that the satrap had assured him, that, if he could only rely on the Athenians, they should not want pay for their seamen; no, not if he should be forced to turn the furniture of his palace into money for them; and that he would bring the Phœnician

fleet, which had already come westward as far as Aspendus, to their aid, instead of the enemy's: but that he could rely upon them only when he saw Alcibiades recalled, and placed in a situation where he might engage for the steadiness of their conduct. The success of these boasts was greater perhaps than he hoped or even desired; for the assembly not only created him general, and entrusted him with the whole management of the negociation with Tissaphernes, but, passing at once to an excess of confidence, as if there was no longer anything to fear from the Peloponnesian armament, was eager to turn its arms against the Four Hundred; and a proposition was formally made, and found many warm supporters, for sailing forthwith to attack Piræus. Alcibiades however checked this temerity, and declared that the first duty which his new office imposed on him was to treat with Tissaphernes on the means of finishing the war. And accordingly, as soon as the assembly broke up, he set off for the satrap's court, at once to make a display of their intimacy, which would raise his own credit with the Athenians, and by the exhibition of his new dignity to exalt the importance of his friendship in the eyes of Tissaphernes.

The recal of Alcibiades, and the means by which it was accomplished, were soon known in the Peloponnesian camp; and the news produced much of the effect which he had expected. It strengthened the suspicions which had long prevailed against Tissaphernes, and revived the murmurs which had before broken out against Astyochus. Not only the common seamen, but persons of higher station in the fleet, charged the admiral with having sold the interests of the service to Tissaphernes: and his imprudence aggravated the popular discontent into an uproar, which threatened his life. The Syracusan and Thurian seamen, accompanied by their commander Diagoras, came in a body to him, and, with the plainness of men who were not used to restraints on their freedom of speech, demanded the arrears of their pay. Astyochus answered haughtily, threatened the claimants and at last

raised his staff, as if to strike Dorieus, who was foremost to plead the cause of his men. The insolent gesture kindled the indignation of the crowd ; they rushed upon the admiral with a fierce outcry, and he only escaped their violence by flying to an altar, where he remained till the tumult was appeased. The temper thus displayed encouraged the people of Miletus to make an attack upon a fortress which Tissaphernes had built in their city, and to expel the garrison which he had placed there ; and their proceedings were viewed with approbation by their allies, especially by the Syracusans. Lichas however condemned them, and laid it down as a general principle, that the Greeks within the province of Tissaphernes must submit to his authority, if moderately exercised ; but at the same time he intimated, that their subjection was only to last until the war should have been happily terminated. Yet even this hint did not sooth the anger he excited by his resistance to the popular will on this and some similar occasions ; and it showed itself even after his death, which happened at Miletus, when the Milesians interfered to deprive him of the honours which his countrymen wished to pay to his remains. Just at this juncture, by a seasonable coincidence, a new admiral, named Mindarus, arrived from Sparta to take the place of Astyochus, who sailed home. He was accompanied by an agent of Tissaphernes, a Carian, named Gaulites, who was equally familiar with the Greek as with his own tongue, and who was instructed to complain of the conduct of the Milesians, in the expulsion of the Persian garrison, and to vindicate his master from the charges with which he knew himself to be threatened ; for Milesian envoys were on their way to Sparta with Hermocrates, to expose the satrap's duplicity, his connection with Alcibiades, and the injury which the cause of the Peloponnesians had suffered from it.

In the meanwhile Alcibiades had returned to Samos. His presence seems to have encouraged the ministers of the Four Hundred, who, as we have seen, had stopt at

Delos, to continue their voyage to the camp. There they were introduced into the military assembly, and executed their commission. It was some time before they could gain a hearing; they were interrupted by cries which threatened the subverters of the constitution with death. But when the tumult was hushed, they defended the conduct of the Four Hundred, and the changes which had taken place at Athens, and endeavoured to remove the impression which had been made by the exaggerations and orations of Chœreas. They contended that if the government had ever harboured the design which had been imputed to it, of betraying the city to the enemy, it would have seized the opportunity afforded by the appearance of Agis before the walls. It had proved on that occasion, that it had no views inconsistent with the safety and honour of the commonwealth. The political privileges bestowed by the new order of things were not appropriated to a narrow oligarchy but were to be shared by five thousand citizens. All that they had heard of the ill treatment of their relatives, was a groundless calumny: none were molested either in their persons or their property. — But the assembly either did not believe this assertion, or was not satisfied with their explanations, and seemed to be only irritated by the attempts made to conciliate it. Among various proposals suggested by its resentment, that of sailing to Piræus was renewed, and was recommended with great vehemence by many voices. But Alcibiades again interposed to prevent a step which would have left Ionia and the Hellespont in the enemy's power; and, manifest as the danger was, Thucydides believes that no other man possessed influence enough to have averted it. It was the first great service which he had rendered to his country. He silenced those who would have indulged in personal invectives against the envoys with a severe reproof; and dismissed them with a firm but mild answer, which however was designed to conciliate, not the Four Hundred, but the great mass of their partizans. As to the Five Thousand, he did not

mean to deprive them of their franchise : but he required that the Four Hundred should be deposed, and the old council of Five Hundred reinstated in its legitimate authority. All measures of retrenchment by which a greater part of the public revenue was spared for the maintenance of the troops should have his hearty approbation. And he exhorted his countrymen at home to persevere in resisting the enemy. As long as they all continued to defend themselves against attacks from without, there was good hope that they would be able to compose their domestic quarrels ; but the disposition for reconciliation would come too late, if any fatal blow should be struck either against Athens or against the armament at Samos. The assembly was likewise attended by an embassy which brought offers of assistance from Argos. The Argive envoys came along with the crew of the *Paralus*, whom the Athenian government had first degraded by transferring them to another vessel, and had then incautiously entrusted them with the charge of conveying three ambassadors to Sparta. But in their passage they stopt at Argos, where they left their oligarchical companions in custody, and sailed with the Argive ministers to Samos. Alcibiades in the name of the assembly thanked the Argives for their offers, and expressed his hope that the Athenians would find them equally prompt on future occasions when their aid might be needed.

Though Tissaphernes had adopted the policy suggested to him by Alcibiades toward the Peloponnesians, so far as to determine that he would never grant them any effectual succours, he was still as anxious as ever to avoid an open breach with them, into which it was the aim of his counsellor to draw him. He therefore thought it necessary, when the suspicions of his allies had been raised to their greatest height by the restoration of Alcibiades, to make some attempt to recover their confidence or at least to revive their hopes. For this purpose he proceeded in person to Aspendus with the avowed object of bringing the Phœnician fleet to join the Peloponnesians.

He desired that Lichas might accompany him, and appointed Tamos to provide for the subsistence of the Peloponnesian armament in his absence. The forethought of Tissaphernes never went beyond an expedient for gaining time; and he trusted to his ingenuity for inventing a new one when that which served his immediate purpose was worn out. The journey to Aspendus which seemed to offer a decisive test of his sincerity, appeased the allies, and probably persuaded many that he was at last in earnest. This belief was confirmed when, after his arrival there, he sent for a Lacedæmonian officer to take charge of the Phœnician fleet; and Philippus was despatched with two galleys for this purpose. But Alcibiades knew his mind better; and, when the news reached Samos, declared his intention of following him to Aspendus, and engaged either to return with the Phœnician fleet, or to prevent it from being employed in the enemy's service. He was probably aware that the Athenians had as little to hope as to fear from the satrap's journey; but he thought that his own might serve to embroil him the sooner with the Peloponnesians, and so to force him into alliance with Athens. He therefore set sail with a squadron of thirteen galleys for Aspendus.

The answer which the deputies of the Four Hundred brought home from Samos, produced an impression at Athens very unfavourable to the interest of the oligarchical leaders. It was however only the occasion which drew forth the expression of feelings that had for some time been secretly gaining ground among their subordinate associates. Most of them were already disappointed, or offended, or alarmed, by the course which affairs had taken. Many had engaged in the revolution with views of personal aggrandisement or distinction, and found that they were only the instruments of others. Some had sincerely desired the reformation of abuses, and had hoped to effect it by moderately contracting the popular basis on which the old constitution rested; but they found that they had lodged absolute power in the hands of a very small

body of men, which was itself perhaps secretly governed by a still smaller number of unseen directors. Others had perhaps been chiefly impelled by the belief, that a change in the constitution, whether desirable or not for its own sake, was necessary to procure them the means of withstanding their foreign enemies: and they found that they had nearly involved themselves in a civil war with their own navy, which must either overpower them or leave them helpless. This last reflection not only operated powerfully with many, but served as a pretext for some who could not decently avow their real motives. Among the ambitious and disappointed men who covered their selfish ends under a show of zeal for the public good, were Theramenes, who was one of the generals, and Aristocrates, who also held a high military office.¹ They took the lead among the discontented of their party, who began to cabal against the oligarchy, as before against the democracy. They professed indeed not to have changed their opinions, but only to desire that the Five Thousand should be no longer a mere name, but a real and active body. They affected to fear that the embassy which had been lately sent to Sparta had been secretly instructed to concert measures for betraying the city into the enemy's hands. They urged the necessity of coming to terms with Alcibiades and the fleet. But they were really dissatisfied with the subordinate places which they occupied in the new system: they were eager to abandon a cause which they perceived to be sinking, and to seize the foremost station in the triumph of the commonalty which appeared to be now at hand.

The leading oligarchs however, the men, who, like Phrynichus, dreaded above all the return of Alcibiades, or who were implacably hostile to democratical ascendancy, as Antiphon and Aristarchus, one of the generals most congenial to him in his political principles, or who, like Pisander, were conscious of having taken too active a part in the revolution to be forgiven, or who thought

¹ That of ταξιάρχης.

the power they wielded worth keeping at any risk and cost, could not be affected by the arguments and motives which swayed most of their adherents. They determined neither to resign nor to relax their authority, but sooner, if driven to extremities, to sacrifice the independence of the state. They had already begun to provide for their own security under the pretext of guarding the city against the attack with which it was threatened by the armament at Samos. With this view they had begun to fortify the mole called Eetionea, which formed one side of the outer entrance of Piræus, with a tower at its extreme point by the harbour's mouth, and a wall, which ran from this point along the shore of the harbour. The tower connected this new wall with the old one, which protected Piræus on the land side, and thus enabled a handful of men to command the entrance of the port. The new fortification also took in a large building, which was converted into a public granary, where all the corndealers were compelled to deposit their stock of grain, and the masters of the cornships which came into Piræus to house their cargoes. But when, on the return of their ministers from Samos, they saw themselves not only exposed to the hostility of the fleet, but deserted by several of their most active partizans, and the tide of public opinion setting in fast against them, they began to look to an accommodation with Sparta as their only sure ground of hope; and the first embassy having miscarried, as we have seen, Antiphon and Phrynichus themselves, with ten colleagues, set out to negotiate a peace on the best terms they could procure. Thucydides expresses his conviction, that, though they would have wished to rule Athens as an independent and sovereign state, they would have consented if they could obtain no better conditions, to cede, not only her tributary cities, but her ships and her walls. It was therefore not without good ground, though perhaps without any certain evidence of the fact, that Theramenes and his party laboured to excite a suspicion in the public mind,

that the works at Eetionea were designed not to exclude their political adversaries, but to enable them to admit the enemy into Piræus; and when Antiphon and his colleagues returned without having concluded any publicly acknowledged treaty, their seeming failure was interpreted as a sign of some secret agreement to betray the city into the enemy's hands.

These suspicions were greatly strengthened by the intelligence which was received about the same time, that a squadron of forty-two galleys, including some from Italy and Sicily, was collected on the coast of Laconia, under the command of the Spartan Hegesandridas, avowedly destined to act against Eubœa; where in truth the aid of the Peloponnesians had been solicited. But Thera-menes represented it as much more probable that the real object of this expedition was connected with the works which were proceeding at Eetionea, and that the enemy was only waiting for their completion to enter Piræus unresisted. And the aspect of the fortifications themselves, which were provided with posterns and passages adapted for the clandestine admission of troops, seemed to attest the purpose for which they were constructed. Still these surmises had hitherto been confined to private circles, not a breath of opposition had yet been publicly vented against the authority of the government, and the first intimation which it received of an immediate danger was given not by words but by a deed of blood. Soon after his return from Sparta Phrynichus was assassinated, in broad day, in the agora while it was thronged with people, at a short distance from the council chamber which he had just quitted. The person who struck the blow escaped through the crowd, and was not immediately discovered; he was known however to be one of the young citizens employed in the home service¹; but his accomplice

¹ Ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιτόλων τινος. One might be inclined to conjecture from this expression, that the body of the περιτολῶν at this time included some citizens of maturer age than the youths of whom it was regularly composed. Indeed, if we would attempt to reconcile the accounts of Thucydides and Lysias, who (c. Agorat. p. 136.) states the person who struck the

was arrested, and put to the torture. He proved to be an Argive; but no confession could be wrung from him as to the authors of the plot, except that he knew of sundry meetings which had been held, and numerous attended, in private houses, and among the rest in that of the commander of the home troops.¹ Though it seems probable, from the various accounts which have been left of this occurrence, that some other persons were thrown into prison on suspicion of having been privy to it, it appears that the government did not think it prudent to follow the clue which the disclosures of the Argive put into its hands. It might have led to discoveries which it was safest to suppress, as they might reveal the numbers and increase the confidence of the disaffected. No further steps therefore were taken to avenge the murder of Phrynichus. This was perhaps one of the results anticipated by those who planned the deed, in which they followed the example of his own party. It served to sound the disposition of the people, and to detect the weakness of the oligarchs, and encouraged Theramenes, and his partizans—though it is not certain that they had any share in it—to engage in a bolder and more important enterprise.

Their proceedings were quickened by the movements of the Peloponnesian squadron, which soon after appeared in the Saronic gulf, directly in face of Piræus, off Ægina. The troops were landed to ravage the island, and it then proceeded to anchor at Epidaurus. This Theramenes treated as a clear proof of a secret correspondence between the government and the enemy, who, if Eubœa had been his real destination, would not have turned so far aside out of his course; and he urged his friends no longer to remain passive. After long debate the plans of his party were settled and

blow to have been a foreigner, we should be obliged to suppose that the resident aliens were admitted into it.

¹ Τοῦ πριτολάρχου. Is this the same person as the Hermon who is afterwards described as Εἰρων τις τῶν πριτολῶν τῶν Μαννυχιασὶ τεταγμένω αἰσχῶν?

were promptly executed. A body of heavy infantry was employed in building at Eetionea; it included the corps commanded by Aristocrates, but Alexicles, one of the generals devoted to the oligarchical cause, superintended the work. The men were generally ill affected toward the government, and were now induced to break out into open mutiny: they seized Alexicles, and kept him in custody; and they were encouraged by the approbation, not only of Aristocrates, but of Hermon, the commander of the young militia on duty at Munychia. The Four Hundred were sitting in council when this news was brought to them, and Theramenes was present. As his colleagues were acquainted with his sentiments, they at once imputed the act of the troops to his instigation, and threatened him with their vengeance; and they were on the point of arming their followers immediately to quell the mutiny. Theramenes however asserted his innocence, and obtained leave to go with another general, one of his own partizans, to rescue Alexicles. Aristarchus also set out for the same purpose, accompanied by some of the younger citizens of the equestrian order. But their departure did not pacify the adherents of the oligarchy, who were alarmed by a report, that Alexicles had been put to death, and that the insurgents had taken entire possession of Piræus; and it was with difficulty that by the persuasions of the elder citizens, and of Thucydides, a Thessalian of Pharsalus, proxenus of the city, who represented the fatal consequences which might ensue from a civil war while the enemy was so near at hand, they were restrained from taking up arms, and marching down to attack their adversaries. Theramenes found Piræus in a state of equal agitation, every moment expecting some hostile movement from the city. His presence raised the confidence of the troops, which was not checked by the language and tone in which he affected to condemn their conduct, and they as little regarded the sincere indignation of Aristarchus. They appealed to Theramenes to pronounce, whether

the fortress was designed for the public good, and whether it was better it should stand or fall; and he then so far laid aside the mask, as to leave the question to their own judgment, and to give his consent if they thought it best to demolish their work. On this permission they immediately began to pull down the buildings at Eetionea, and they were aided by a great part of the population of Piræus. The cry however by which they invited the multitude to join them, was only a call upon those who preferred the rule of the Five Thousand to that of the Four Hundred. Yet those who used this language aimed at nothing short of the restoration of democracy. But as it was possible that the list of the Five Thousand had been formed, and communicated to all who were included in it, there was still room to apprehend that every citizen, whose aid they sought, might be a member of this invisible body, and interested in securing its privileges.

By the next day the destruction of the fortress was completed: Alexicles was now set at liberty, and the troops, after a public meeting in the theatre at Munichia, marched up to the city, and posted themselves in the Anaceum, the sanctuary of the Twins. The Four Hundred, who were assembled in great alarm, sent a deputation to sooth them with promises and intreaties. The deputies addressed themselves individually to those who discovered a spirit of moderation, assured them that the list of the Five Thousand would shortly be published, and that to this body the election of the Four Hundred would be committed according to such rules as it might think fit to adopt, and exhorted them to wait patiently for this satisfaction of their doubts, and in the mean while to exert their influence to prevent a tumult, which would endanger the public safety. The troops, calmed perhaps as much by the consciousness of their strength, as by the arguments addressed to them, but sincerely concerned for the commonwealth, declared themselves willing to accede to an amicable compromise, and a day was fixed for an assembly to be held for this

purpose in the sanctuary of Dionysus. But when the day came, and just as the assembly was on the point of meeting, news was brought that the Peloponnesian squadron was advancing along the coast of Salamis. The suspicion which Theramenes had so often expressed now appeared to be fully confirmed; and his party congratulated themselves that the fortress, which was so clearly the mark of the enemy's movements, had fallen in time. Thucydides himself, though he observes that the disturbed state of Athens might have been sufficient, without any invitation from within, to induce the Spartan admiral to shape his course this way, does not think it improbable that he acted in concert with the oligarchs. For the time however all reflections were absorbed by the care of defending the city. All the serviceable population of Athens rushed down with one accord to Piræus, to man the ships, guard the walls, and secure the mouth of the harbour.

The Peloponnesians however quietly pursued their course past the town, and did not stop until they had doubled Sunium, and, after a short stay on the eastern coast of Attica, proceeded to Oropus. The danger which now appeared to threaten Eubœa, created almost as great alarm at Athens as that which had been just felt for the city itself. A squadron, the largest that could be immediately fitted out, was manned with all the haste that the exigency demanded, and was sent under the command of Thymochares to Eretria, where it joined that which had before been stationed on the coast of Eubœa. But together they amounted to no more than thirty-six galleys; and these for the most part were but ill prepared for action: and they had scarcely reached Eretria before they were forced into a combat under the most unfavourable circumstances. The Eretrians, who were in correspondence with the Spartan admiral, took measures to prevent the Athenian seamen from finding provisions in the ordinary market, and compelled them to go in quest of them to the outskirts of the town, at a great distance from their ships.

A signal was then made to the Peloponnesians, who immediately pushed across the channel from Oropus. The Athenians had time indeed to embark, but in disorder, and meeting with the enemy near the mouth of the harbour, before they had recovered from the confusion of the first alarm, and before all were collected and disposed in any order of battle, were soon put to flight. Those who took refuge in Eretria itself, trusting to the loyalty of their allies, were attacked by the Eretrians, and almost all slain. A part of the rest found shelter in a neighbouring fort, which was held by an Athenian garrison. Fourteen galleys escaped to Chalcis; but twenty-two fell into the hands of the Peloponnesians, and the crews were all either killed or made prisoners. This blow was very soon followed by the revolt of Eubœa, where Oreus alone remained attached to the parent state.

The consternation excited by this intelligence at Athens was even greater than that which followed the Sicilian disaster; and indeed the state had never before seemed so near the brink of ruin. The city, at enmity with its fleet, divided between two parties which had been very lately on the point of turning their arms against each other, deprived of almost all its remaining naval force, and of the island on which it chiefly depended for subsistence, had scarcely a glimpse of hope left, and had every reason to fear that the victorious enemy would shortly appear to attack or to blockade Piræus. The timidity of the Spartan commander, which prevented him from taking advantage of so fair an opportunity, when he might either have forced Athens to surrender, or by drawing the armament from Samos to its relief, have deprived it of all its foreign possessions, provokes Thucydides himself to an unusually sarcastic remark: that it was not on this occasion only but on many others, that the Lacedæmonians showed themselves most convenient enemies to the Athenians. The Athenians however merited the praise of exerting a degree of prudence and energy scarcely inferior to the

imbecility and inertness of their antagonists. They were still able to man twenty galleys, with which they prepared to defend themselves as they could; and they immediately applied themselves to the no less important task of healing their civil discord. An assembly was called in the Pnyx, the old place of meeting, which had been used ever since the expulsion of the tyrants, and a decree was passed, by which the Four Hundred were deposed, and the supreme power was committed to Five Thousand citizens. All that was done on this occasion was to abolish the oligarchy, and to lay down the basis of a new constitution in very general terms. In subsequent assemblies legislative committees were appointed, which defined the particulars of the new institutions. Unfortunately Thucydides has left no more than a very short and slight description of them, in which there are only two or three points clearly discernible. There was a sovereign body of Five Thousand into which none were admissible but citizens who served in the heavy-armed infantry; but all who belonged to this class had a share of some kind in the privileges of the Five Thousand. How this participation was regulated, we are not informed; but it seems most probable that the members of the ruling body were changed from time to time, according to a fixed order of succession, so that none were excluded from the actual enjoyment of the highest franchise except the citizens whose means did not enable them to support the expense of serving in the regular infantry. The pay of all civil offices was abolished with a solemn imprecation against its revival; a measure, which, as it included the courts of justice and the popular assembly¹, would of itself have limited the exercise of political rights to a class not much larger than that which was formally invested with them, and tended to reconcile the poorer citizens to their loss of power; especially as

¹ Thuc. viii. 97. Μισθὸν μηδὲνα εἶναι μηδὲ μᾶ ἄρχῃ, where ἄρχῃ must be interpreted by the observations of Aristotle, Pol. iii. 1, on the cognition of a citizen τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι διηρημέναι κατὰ χρόνον—ὁ δ' ἀριστος, αὐτὸν δὲ δικαστὴς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής.

no bar was fixed to prevent them from gaining a place in the privileged class, which might be considered as a reward held out to their industry, at a distance not so high as to discourage their ambition.

The Athenian constitution thus assumed the form to which Aristotle assigned the name of a *polity*; it differed but slightly in substance from that which existed before the time of Pericles; though the number of citizens belonging to the class now disfranchised was then probably much smaller. Thucydides expresses the highest approbation of the new constitution, as a happy mean between democracy and oligarchy, and the opening of a new era, which promised a return of prosperity to the commonwealth. Perhaps its most beneficial effect was, that it united the citizens of the middle class, the largest, the most powerful and the most enlightened, more closely together, and took away most of the pretexts and motives by which the oligarchs had been able to divide, overpower, and oppress them. The great advantage which it immediately yielded, was that it afforded a basis for a reconciliation with the fleet. A decree was passed for recalling Alcibiades and other exiles — probably all those who had been involved in his sentence — and a deputation was sent to the camp, to announce the recent revolution, and to exhort the troops to prosecute the war with vigour. And though the limitation of the old democracy cannot have been equally acceptable to all the citizens who were serving in the fleet, it probably met the wishes of the greater number. The overthrow of the Four Hundred was universally agreeable; and the appearance at least of unanimity was at once completely restored.

The leaders of the oligarchical faction, as soon as they saw themselves deprived of power, secretly withdrew from the city, and sought shelter among their friends at Decelea. Thucydides only names Pisander, Alexicles, and Aristarchus, among the fugitives. Aristarchus had the consolation of inflicting a considerable injury on his country while he abandoned it. When the cause of his party had become

hopeless, he quitted the city with a few bowmen, taken from among the rudest of the barbarians who were employed in the public service, and proceeded to the border fortress of Œnoe, which happened at this time to be besieged by a force consisting of Corinthians and of Bœotian volunteers. The Corinthians had come to revenge a blow which a body of their troops, on its way home from Decelea, had suffered from the Athenian garrison; and they had called in the aid of the Bœotians who were always desirous to get possession of the place. Aristarchus, in concert with the besiegers, deceived the garrison by a story for which his office gained credit, of an agreement lately concluded at Athens with the enemy, and induced it to surrender the fortress to the Bœotians. We do not know through what means he afterwards fell into the hands of justice; but we find that within four or five years he was put to death¹, and Alexicles appears to have suffered at the same time, though on a different charge.² Antiphon probably remained at Athens, either trusting to his eloquence and influence, or because he was prevented from escaping; for not long after he was brought to trial³, with Archeptolemus and Onomacles, two of his colleagues in the embassy to Sparta, and Theramenes, lately his intimate friend, became his accuser.⁴ The main charge was that they had gone on a treasonable embassy, had sailed in an enemy's ship⁵, and had passed through Decelea — perhaps on their return from Sparta, when they had no longer any pretext for visiting the enemy's camp — but the part they had taken in the establishment of the oligarchy was, as we

¹ Not later than 406. Xenophon *Hell.* i. 7. 29.

² Lycurgus c. Leocr. p. 164. It is remarkable that the orator should not mention the real offence of Aristarchus, though so much to his purpose, but represent him and Alexicles as suffering for their participation in the guilt of Phrynichus.

³ That it was soon after the revolution, is implied in the expression of Thucydides, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἑκακοῦτο.

⁴ Lysias c. Eratosth. p. 126.

⁵ Cæcilius in Plutarch, *N. Orat. Vit. Antiph.* where the ordinance of the council (which was perhaps empowered to direct the form of proceeding as in the case of the victorious generals, *Xen. Hell.* i. 7. 7) and the judgment, are given at full length. But the words ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τλήω want explanation.

learn from Thucydides, their real offence, though it might have seemed incredible that Theramenes should have impeached them on this ground, if his subsequent conduct did not prove that he was capable, if not of every crime, yet of any baseness. Antiphon's defence was considered by Thucydides as the ablest he had ever met with. But he and Archeptolemus — Onomacles seems to have escaped or to have died before sentence was passed — were condemned to death, their property confiscated, their houses raised to the ground, and the site marked with a memorial of their crimes, their bodies cast to the dogs beyond the borders of Attica, and their descendants doomed to perpetual infamy.

But it does not seem that a very rigorous investigation was instituted into the conduct of the Four Hundred; and those who had not taken a conspicuous part in their proceedings, and who might therefore be considered as reluctant instruments of the leading men, were permitted to remain unmolested at Athens. Among them were some who were perhaps not less implacably hostile to popular government than Antiphon himself, and who only waited for an opportunity of recovering their power. In the mean while they seem to have assumed the mask of patriotic zeal and indignation against the oligarchy. So, not only Theramenes, but Andron, who proposed the rigorous ordinance for the impeachment of Antiphon and his two colleagues, was himself one of the Four Hundred.¹ And such undoubtedly was the policy adopted by Critias son of Callæschrus, a man whom we shall hereafter find taking the lead among the enemies of liberty; but who now distinguished himself by the ardour with which he embraced the prevailing cause. It was he who proposed the recall of Alcibiades.² To this step he may have been led by personal friendship, or by the wish to conciliate a

¹ Harpocratico, Ἀνδράν.

² Plutarch Alc. 32. quotes some lines of a poem addressed — how long after the event we do not know — by Critias to Alcibiades, in which he claims this merit. Ἰνώμην δ' ἡ σὲ κατήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν Εἴπον, καὶ γράψας τοῦτον ἰδεῖσθαι τῷδε.

powerful political associate. But it was likewise at his motion that, after the ceremony of a judicial investigation, the remains of Phrynichus were disinterred, and carried, as those of a traitor, out of Attica, while Apollodorus a Megarian, and Thrasybulus, an Ætolian of Calydon, who had been imprisoned as privy to his murder, were released, and rewarded with the freedom of the city.¹

¹ Lysias c. Agorat, p. 136. where Thrasybulus is said to have struck the blow, and, agreeably to the statement of Thucydides, in a frequented part of the city. The singular variation as to the time and place in Lycurgus c. Leocr. p. 164. — where the murder is said to have been committed by night, and near a fountain among osiers, therefore, it might be supposed, outside the city — may have arisen from some confusion between this and some other event of the same kind. It is Lycurgus who informs us that Critias was the mover of the decree for the investigation which terminated as we have mentioned in the text. But to suppose that these proceedings took place before the overthrow of the Four Hundred, was a somewhat gross mistake.

CHAP. XXIX.

FROM THE OVERTHROW OF THE FOUR HUNDRED TO
THE BATTLE OF NOTIUM.

WHILE the revolution just described was taking place, the operations of the hostile fleets, which had hitherto been opposed to each other on the south coast of Ionia, were transferred to a new theatre of war. The Peloponnesians found Tamos no more attentive to their wants than Tissaphernes had been ; and at length even the scanty and irregular supplies which they at first received, wholly ceased. At the same time Mindarus was informed by despatches both from Philippus, and from another Spartan named Hippocrates, who had been sent to Phaselis, that it was now evident Tissaphernes had no intention of fulfilling his promise with regard to the Phœnician fleet. He therefore resolved to accept the invitation of Pharnabazus, who continued to urge him to bring up his whole force to the Hellespont, and effect the revolt of all the other towns which remained subject to Athens in the satrap's province. Having first despatched Dorieus with thirteen galleys to Rhodes¹, where some movements were apprehended from the party adverse to the Peloponnesian or aristocratical interest, he set sail from Miletus with seventy-three galleys. His orders for sailing were given so suddenly as to prevent any notice of his design from being conveyed to the enemy. But having, like Clearchus, put out into the open sea to escape observation, he was driven by a gale to the isle of Icarus, and detained there five or six days, but at length arrived safe at Chios.

In the mean while Thrasyllus, who in the absence of Alcibiades had the supreme command of the Athenian

¹ Diodorus, xiii. 38.

fleet, on discovering the departure of the Peloponnesians, immediately set sail with fifty-five galleys in pursuit of them. Finding however that they were lying at Chios, he proceeded to Lesbos, both to take precautions for stopping their progress, and to recover Eresus, which had been recently induced to revolt by a body of exiled Methymnæans, who had crossed over with some political volunteers from Cuma, and after having been repulsed in an attempt on their own town, gained admission at Eresus. Thrasyllus prepared to assault the place with his whole force, which was raised to sixty-seven galleys by the addition of five, with which Thrasybulus had been sent forward on the first news of the danger, but arrived too late before Eresus, five belonging to Methymna, and two which happened to be returning from the Hellespont. It was the design of Thrasyllus, as soon as he had reduced Eresus, to advance against the Peloponnesians at Chios ; and he had ordered a supply of provisions to be laid in at Methymna for this expedition. But in the mean while he stationed scouts both on the coast of Lesbos and on that of the opposite continent, that the enemy might not pass unobserved through the channel while he was engaged in the siege on the western side of the island. Mindarus however, having staid only two days at Chios, where he victualled his fleet, and obtained a small subsidy from the Chians for the pay of his men, by dint of extraordinary speed, contrived to effect his passage between Lesbos and the main, and to reach the mouth of the Hellespont, before Thrasyllus received any advice of his movements. An Athenian squadron of eighteen galleys was at this time lying at Sestus, and sixteen which had been sent by the Peloponnesians after Clearchus, were at Abydus. They had received notice of the approach of their friends, and were charged to prevent the escape of the Athenian squadron ; but though Mindarus arrived in the straits a little before midnight, the Athenians were soon apprised of his presence by the fires which they saw suddenly kindled on the hostile coast, as well as by fire signals, which were

raised from their own, and they instantly set sail to gain the open sea. They were not observed by the squadron at Abydus ; but at daybreak they found themselves in view of the Peloponnesian armament, which chased them as they made for Imbrus and Lemnos, and took or destroyed four galleys. Thrasyllus on this intelligence immediately raised the siege of Eresus, and proceeded toward the Hellespont with such rapidity, that he fell in with two of the Peloponnesian galleys, which had been carried out beyond the rest in the heat of the pursuit after the Athenian squadron. The next day he came to anchor at Elæus, and was joined by the fourteen fugitive galleys, which the five Methymnæans having been left behind at Lesbos, raised his forces to seventy-six sail.

The Peloponnesians numbered ten more ; an advantage which made Mindarus, now no longer hampered by the intrigues of Tissaphernes, willing to try the event of a battle. On the other hand the Athenian commanders were no less desirous of striking a blow which would raise the spirits of their men, and thought themselves not too unequally matched. Five days were spent in preparation, and the Athenians then moved in a single column along the shore toward Sestus, and were met by the Peloponnesians, who perceived their approach from Abydus. Their right was commanded by Thrasybulus ; their left, which was parted from the centre by the headland of Cynossema, by Thrasyllus. The Peloponnesians had two main objects in view ; to break the Athenian centre, and to outflank their right wing, so as to prevent them from issuing out of the straits. And accordingly Mindarus himself, with his fastest galleys, commanded the left of his line against Thrasybulus, while Thrasyllus was opposed to the Syracusans. The attack on the Athenian centre succeeded, it was overpowered by superior numbers, several galleys were driven aground, and the Peloponnesians landed to follow up their victory on shore. In the mean while Thrasyllus was engaged in a warm combat with the Syracusans, and was prevented by the in-

tervening headland from seeing the distress of his centre ; and Thrasybulus was employed in endeavouring to baffle the manœuvres of Mindarus. But, according to Thucydides, the partial success of the Peloponnesians threw them into confusion, which spread through their whole line, when Thrasybulus suddenly turned upon the enemy who were striving to outflank him, and having put them to flight, attacked their victorious but disordered centre. The Syracusans, who had hitherto maintained their station, though with difficulty, against Thrasyllus, were involved in the general defeat. The narrowness of the channel, as the vanquished found shelter near at hand, prevented the Athenians from making many captures. They took only one and twenty galleys, and lost fifteen of their own. But the value of their victory was not to be measured by these visible fruits. This was the first great battle they had fought since their disasters in Sicily : their success restored the confidence of their seamen, and the news, which was immediately carried to Athens, lightened the dark cloud which had hitherto hung over the prospects of the state, and consoled the people for the recent losses in Eubœa, and animated it with the hope that it might still conquer, even without any other resources than those of its own energy and courage.

The victors, having left their prizes at Elæus, and having staid three days at Sestus to refit, sailed northward to reduce Cyzicus, which had lately revolted. In their way they fell in with eight galleys — part of the squadron with which Helixus the Megarian had taken possession of Byzantium — and after a battle on shore, captured them all. Cyzicus being unfortified made no resistance, and was forced to pay for its rebellion. But in the mean while the Peloponnesians sailed to Elæus, and recovered those of their galleys left there which were in serviceable condition : the rest had been burnt by the people of Elæus. They also despatched Hippocrates and Epicles to Eubœa, to bring away the squadron of Hegesandridas.

About the same time Alcibiades returned with his thirteen galleys to Samos, to claim the merit of having withheld Tissaphernes from sending the Phœnician fleet to assist the enemy, and of having biassed him in favour of the Athenians ; and, having manned nine additional galleys, he proceeded to Halicarnassus, where he levied large contributions, fortified Cos, and appointed a governor there. While he was thus employed, Tissaphernes also left Aspendus to return to Ionia. He had been startled by the intelligence that the Peloponnesian armament had wholly withdrawn from his province, and was much displeased at seeing its services transferred to Pharnabazus. He was also alarmed by an occurrence which took place soon after Mindarus arrived in the Hellespont, and which he considered as a sign of the animosity of the Peloponnesians toward himself. The Æolians of Antandrus, which was included in his satrapy, found themselves oppressed by Arsaces his lieutenant, and dreaded some deeper injury from his perfidy and cruelty, of which he had given a signal proof on a former occasion toward the Delians, during their sojourn at Adramyttium, when without any apparent provocation, having drawn many of their best troops into his service, as auxiliaries in a pretended expedition, he had them massacred in cold blood. The Antandrians therefore availed themselves of the presence of the Peloponnesians at Abydus, and, with the aid of a body of heavy infantry which Mindarus sent over to them through the passes of Mount Ida, dislodged the Persian garrison from their citadel. Tissaphernes, coupling this transaction with the conduct of the Peloponnesians at Miletus and at Cnidus, where his garrison had likewise been expelled, began to apprehend further detriment from their hostility, and was again anxious to propitiate them. Notwithstanding the assurances which Alcibiades professed to have received from him — by which it is possible that the Athenian may have been himself deceived — he had neither authority from his master to declare himself in favour of Athens, nor any intention to serve her cause.

He did not despair of being able to find excuses which would appease the Peloponnesians even with regard to the delay of the Phœnician fleet, and would give him a fair colour for expostulating with them on their proceedings at Antandrus. With this view he proceeded toward the Hellespont, and on his journey stopt at Ephesus to sacrifice to the great goddess of the Ephesians; a fact chiefly remarkable as the last which Thucydides records; for with it his history abruptly terminates; and we are left to conjecture in what point of view — whether as indicating a desire of conciliating the Ionians, or in any other way connected with the objects of the satrap's journey — it appeared to him worth mentioning.¹

Xenophon's Greek History — in which he has related the events of the forty-eight years following the period described by Thucydides — opens as abruptly as that of Thucydides breaks off, and with a manifest reference to some occurrences which his predecessor had not mentioned. It seems clear that the beginning of his work has been lost, and it is at least certain, that an interval of five or six weeks must have intervened between the last event related by Thucydides, and that with which Xenophon's narrative at present opens. It is to Diodorus that we are indebted for all the means we have of filling up this blank; and as we know that he had Ephorus before him in this part of his compilation, we have reason to believe that no transactions of any great importance that occurred during this interval have been buried in oblivion. Still Diodorus has elsewhere given such flagrant proofs of his want of diligence and judgment, that we cannot be sure that even what he

¹ But assuredly Thucydides was not so ignorant or forgetful as to suppose that this act of Tissaphernes was inconsistent with the *Persian religious belief* which prevailed both at this and at an earlier period. He could not have forgotten the motive assigned by Datis for the honours which he paid to the Delians. (See Vol. II. p. 231) He must have known that the Persians were commonly believed to have burnt the Greek temples in revenge for the conflagration of the temple of Cybele. Vol. II. p. 215. See Herod. v. 102.), even if he was not aware that the many-sided divinity of Ephesus was much less a Greek than an Asiatic goddess, intimately allied with the leading personages of the Persian theology. See Creuzer, *Mythol.* ii. p. 187. Baur, *Symbolik.* ii. p. 221.

relates on the authority of Ephorus has been accurately reported. Unless however he has been more than usually negligent or bewildered, he cannot have misrepresented the main facts contained in this part of his narrative, and as they are consistent enough with all that we find in Xenophon, there seems to be no reason for calling them in question. Mindarus, as we have seen, had sent Epicles and Hippocrates to Eubœa for the ships which were stationed there under Hegesandridas. It seems that Hegesandridas, after his victory, with the aid of his Eubœan allies, was able to send a squadron of fifty galleys to the aid of Mindarus, and yet to retain a considerable force on his own station. Hippocrates appears to have remained in Eubœa, waiting perhaps for fresh reinforcements, while Epicles sailed with the squadron toward the Hellespont. But off Mount Athos he was overtaken by a terrible storm, which destroyed every galley, and all their crews except twelve men. An inscription, dedicated by the twelve survivors in the temple of Athene Itonia at Coronea, was quoted and most probably seen by Ephorus¹; and it affords incontrovertible evidence of the fact; nor is there sufficient ground for suspecting that Diodorus so grossly misunderstood his author, as to refer the event to a wrong epoch, especially as no other can be found for so memorable a disaster. There can therefore be little doubt that Epicles — for he is never again mentioned — really perished with his whole squadron.

Yet the immediate consequences of this event do not appear in the narrative of Diodorus, and can only be collected from the state of affairs which Xenophon represents at the beginning of his history, where we find Hegesandridas still in command of a squadron, and Hippocrates again serving under Mindarus in the Hellespont. But hence it seems clear that, when the news of the shipwreck reached Eubœa, Hegesandridas sailed, with as many galleys as he could collect or as could be spared, accompanied by Hippocrates, toward the north. He would feel the less scruple in withdrawing his forces

¹ Diodor. xiii. 41.

from Eubœa, as a work had been lately begun which promised to secure the island from the attacks of the Athenians.¹ For it was probably before his departure, and with his sanction and assistance, that the Eubœans had set about an undertaking which they had planned as soon as they revolted from Athens, though Diodorus places its execution a little later. Their main object was to connect their island with the main land by a bridge over the Euripus, so as to ensure the introduction of supplies and succours from Bœotia, and to prevent the Athenians, even though masters of the sea, from besieging them on that side. For this purpose a mole was carried out from Chalcis, and another from the opposite Bœotian town of Aulis, leaving a passage between them for only one ship. A tower was built at the end of each mole, commanding the passage, which was covered by a wooden, perhaps a moveable, bridge. The Bœotians zealously co-operated in this work, which tended to strengthen their influence in Eubœa, while it subjected the Athenians to a great permanent inconvenience, as it barred the channel against all vessels bound for Athens from the north, and compelled them to make the difficult and dangerous circuit of the eastern coast, the dreaded scene of many calamitous shipwrecks.² After the departure of Hegesandridas, Theramenes was sent from Athens with thirty galleys, to obstruct the work; but he found too strong a force collected for the protection of the workmen, and probably the work itself too far advanced, to offer any effectual interruption. But having no enemy to fear on the sea, he proceeded on a cruise among the islands, to levy contributions both from friends and foes. Besides exacting heavy penalties from those who had incurred the charge of treasonable attempts or designs against the majesty of the commonwealth, he appears now to have undone some part of the political changes which had been effected by Pisander

¹ Diodor. xiii. 47.

² See a memoir by Mr. Hawkins in Waipole, i. p. 545, where however we can hardly help suspecting that he somewhat underrates the ancient productiveness of Eubœa itself.

and his oligarchical associates among the subjects of Athens. In most cases perhaps the revolution at Athens was attended by a similar one in the states which had before followed her example. But, at Paros, Theramenes found oligarchy still established; and while he restored the democratical government, he forced the defeated party to pay dearly for its brief enjoyment of power.¹

Not long after Hegesandridas quitted Eubœa, Thymochares, whom he had defeated at Eretria, was sent with a small squadron in the same direction: and the first event related in Xenophon's History is an action which took place between the squadron commanded by Hegesandridas and a part of the Athenian navy reinforced by Thymochares. The battle appears to have been the second that was fought within the course of a few days; it was won by the Lacedæmonians; but as no further results are mentioned we may conclude that both this and the preceding one were of slight importance. Hegesandridas was perhaps on his way to the coast of Thrace, where not long after we find him stationed; and it seems not improbable that it was off this coast that the actions took place, and that the main squadron opposed to him on both occasions was that of Theramenes. The hostile fleets in the Hellespont were still watching each other's movements, waiting perhaps for supplies and reinforcements, toward the end of September, when Dorieus, having executed his commission at Rhodes, sailed in with fourteen galleys. Information was immediately given of his approach to the Athenian commanders, who were encamped at Madytus on the coast of the Chersonesus, and they put out with twenty galleys to attack him. But he ran his squadron aground near the headland of Rhœteum, and defended himself so vigorously, that his assailants were forced to retire, baffled, to their camp. This action was observed by Mindarus, who was sacrificing to Athene in the citadel of Ilium, which commanded a view of the coast, and he hastened to embark and join Dorieus with his whole fleet. The Athenians now came out from Madytus to meet them, and

¹ Diodor. xiii. 47.

an engagement ensued near Abydus, which lasted with fluctuating success nearly the whole day. Toward evening Alcibiades was seen entering the straits with eighteen galleys, and on the appearance of this squadron the Peloponnesians took to flight, and were pursued and driven ashore, where however they maintained the combat in defence of their ships, and were supported by Pharnabazus, who came to their aid with a body of troops. He displayed the utmost zeal in their behalf, animated his men not only by his exhortations but by his example, pushing forward with his horse into the sea, and persevering as long as there was an enemy to oppose. The Athenians however succeeded in carrying off thirty of the Peloponnesian galleys, and in recovering those which they had themselves lost, with which they retired to Sestus.

Notwithstanding this victory, the want of money was so pressing, that while Thrasyllus sailed to Athens to bear the good tidings, and to procure reinforcements, other officers were despatched in various directions to collect pecuniary supplies; no more than forty galleys were left at Sestus. It was at this juncture that Tissaphernes, who perhaps had not only travelled slowly, after the fashion of an Eastern grandee, but had taken time to watch the turn of events, arrived in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, bent perhaps the more on conciliating the Peloponnesians on account of their recent losses, which may have led him to fear lest the balance which he wished to preserve should be destroyed, and he himself might incur his master's displeasure as having contributed to the success of his old enemies the Athenians. When therefore Alcibiades went to greet him on his arrival with presents which were at once offerings of friendship and a tribute of homage, not perhaps without hope of obtaining some supplies for the necessities of the fleet, instead of the usual gracious reception he was arrested and sent prisoner to Sardis. Tissaphernes at the same time professed that he had orders from the King to treat the Athenians as enemies; and he seems to have taken this opportunity of opening a fresh cor-

respondence with the Peloponnesian commanders, and of apologising for the breach of his promise with regard to the Phœnician fleet. At Aspendus it appears he had pleaded as a pretext for delay, that the numbers of the fleet fell so far short of the force which he had been commanded to raise, that he did not venture to run the risk of offending his master by sending such inadequate succours. Now, as we may collect from Diodorus, he offered a new excuse; alleging that news which had been received of certain designs formed by the king of the Arabians, and the ruler of the revolted Egyptians, which threatened the safety of Phœnicia, had prevented him from parting with a force which was needed to protect the king's dominions. But, as his character was now generally understood, his assertions appear to have gained little credit; and when, after a month's imprisonment, Alcibiades contrived to effect his escape from Sardis to Clazomenæ, he easily made it to be believed that he had been released by the satrap's orders.² In the meanwhile Mindarus, who had still sixty galleys left, or had received reinforcements which raised his fleet to that number³, prepared to take advantage of the enemy's temporary weakness; and the Athenians, having been apprised of the attack which he meditated, withdrew under cover of night from Sestus to Cardia, on the isthmus of the peninsula. Here they were joined by Alcibiades, who brought with him five galleys and a smaller vessel, which he had found at Clazomenæ. But hearing that the Peloponnesians had left Abydus for Cyzicus, he crossed over by land to Sestus, and ordered the fleet to sail round and meet him there; for, notwithstanding his

¹ Diodor. xiii. 46. Though Diodorus here and elsewhere, by a blunder which alone might serve to stamp his character as a historian, has confounded Tissaphernes with Pharnabazus, the apology which he puts into the mouth of Pharnabazus for the conduct of Tissaphernes is too characteristic of its real author not to be genuine.

² Plutarch Alc. 28.

³ Diodorus, xiii. 49. speaks of great accessions from Peloponnesus and other quarters, as to which Xenophon is silent. Yet as Mindarus lost twenty-one galleys out of eighty-six at the battle of Cynossema, though he afterwards recovered a part of them, he must have been strongly reinforced either before or after his loss at Abydus. And it is probable that a part at least of these reinforcements came from Eubœa.

great inferiority in numbers, he was resolved to seek an engagement. But just as he was on the point of sailing Thrasybulus and Theramenes arrived, each with a squadron of twenty galleys; for Theramenes had joined Thrasybulus on the coast of Thrace, and they had been engaged in levying contributions till they were called away by a despatch from the fleet at Cardia. The object of Alcibiades now was to overtake the enemy before this augmentation of his force should have been heard of. Making all speed he arrived in the forenoon of the next day at the island of Proconnesus, where he learnt that Mindarus was at Cyzicus with Pharnabazus and his troops. He remained the rest of the day at Proconnesus, taking the most rigorous precautions to prevent intelligence of his coming from reaching the enemy. Early the next morning he assembled the men and told them that they must be prepared to fight not only on the water but on land, and even against walled towns; for it was by their arms alone they could hope to provide themselves with those supplies which the enemy received in abundance from the Persian treasury. He then set sail in a heavy rain and a thick mist for Cyzicus. As he approached the harbour the weather suddenly cleared up, and as the sun broke the mist, the Peloponnesian fleet was discovered exercising a great way off at sea. When the Peloponnesians saw the Athenians with so large a force between them and the harbour, they made for the nearest land, and laying their ships together in a compact mass defended themselves awhile from the decks. But at length Alcibiades, having sailed round with 20 galleys to another point of the coast, landed his men, and came up to attack them in the rear. Mindarus himself now landed to repel the assailants, but fell in the battle, and his men were put to flight. The whole fleet, except the galleys of the Syracusans, which they fired, fell into the hands of the Athenians, who carried them away to Proconnesus.

The next day they sailed to Cyzicus, which being abandoned by the enemy was forced to receive them,

and was laid under heavy contributions by Alcibiades during a stay of twenty days which he made there. He then proceeded to the Bosphorus; in his way he was admitted into Perinthus; and at Selymbria, though the gates were closed against him, he obtained money. On his arrival in the Bosphorus he fortified the town of Chrysopolis on the eastern coast opposite Byzantium, and established a custom house there, where he compelled all vessels which passed from the Euxine to pay a tithe on their cargoes. Then leaving thirty galleys under Theramenes and Eubulus to collect these duties, with general instructions to do whatever harm they could to the enemy, he returned with the rest of the fleet to the Hellespont. While he was reaping these fruits of the victory of Cyzicus, it had for a time reduced the Peloponnesians to great distress, which was described by Hippocrates, who took the command after the death of Mindarus, in a despatch — copied by Xenophon from the original which was intercepted and carried to Athens — consisting of four Laconic sentences. *The tide has turned; Mindarus has perished; the men are hungering; we are in a strait.*¹ But their embarrassment did not last long, for Pharnabazus, who was as true and generous as Tissaphernes was faithless and selfish, came forward of his own accord to their relief. He bade them take heart; for so long as their lives were saved, they would find timber enough in the king's forests to replace their lost ships. In the meanwhile he clothed and armed the men, gave them pay for two months, and stationed them to guard the coasts of his province. He then called the officers together, and bade them set about building new galleys at Antandrus, equal in number to those which they had lost; advanced the money required, and gave them leave to take the timber from the woods of Ida.

¹ Εἴρη τὰ καλὰ Μίνδαρος ἀτίσσανα· πεινῶντι τῶνδεσ· ἀποριῶμες ὅτι κρη δρῶν. The strangest circumstance about this despatch is, that it runs so very nearly in two Hipponactean iambs. But the anxiety of some learned men to complete the first line by inserting a δὲ or a γὰρ (see Valckenacr, Theoc. p. 264.) — as if the Spartans had consoled themselves under their misfortunes by putting them in verse — is a ludicrous example of misapplied erudition.

While the ships were on the stocks, the Syracusans earned the gratitude of the Antandrians by helping them to fortify and guard their town, and were requited with the title of benefactors and with the freedom of Antandrus.

Still the news of the loss of the whole fleet on which the Peloponnesians had hitherto relied for carrying on the war, created so much alarm at Sparta, that an embassy was sent to Athens, with Endius at its head, to make overtures for peace. The fact, notwithstanding Xenophon's silence, cannot reasonably be doubted, and the account which Diodorus gives of the terms proposed by Endius is at least perfectly probable. Each party was to retain the places which it possessed, but to withdraw its troops from the other's territory, and the Lacedæmonian prisoners were to be exchanged against as many Athenians. But Cleophon, one of the upstart demagogues who from time to time pushed themselves forward into a disgraceful notoriety and a pernicious influence, now took the same course which Cleon had pursued on a similar occasion, and prevailed on the assembly to reject an offer which a few weeks before would probably have been hailed as an unexpected deliverance. Cleophon's sway over the public mind might lead us to conjecture that the polity which Thucydides applauded had already given way to the old democracy. But all classes were alike capable of being elated by sudden prosperity, and we do not know what may have been the demands of the Athenians on which the negotiation was broken off.

While the building of the new fleet was going on at Antandrus, news was brought to Hermocrates and his colleagues, that they had been condemned to banishment by the people at home, where an adverse faction was now predominant. They immediately assembled their men, and after protesting against the illegal proceedings by which they had been sentenced unheard and in a mass, they exhorted them not to relax their zeal or their discipline, and desired them to elect commanders in

their room, until their successors should have arrived from Syracuse. This request was received with a general acclamation, especially from the officers and the soldiers, bidding them retain their office. But the generals deprecated all resistance to legal authority, however unjustly exercised, though at the same time they declared themselves ready to give an account of their administration, if any one present had aught to alledge against them, and reminded their hearers of the victories they had gained and of the distinctions with which they had been honoured by their allies. This appeal was attended with an effect which they probably expected. Not a voice was raised except to renew the former acclamations, and they accordingly consented to remain in command until they were superseded by the new generals. Hermocrates had especially endeared himself to his inferior officers by the affability with which he had been used to communicate his plans, and to listen to their suggestions, collecting those of the captains, and masters, and even the soldiers whom he found the aptest learners, every morning and evening in his tent for consultation and discourse. When he took his leave, most of the captains pledged themselves by a solemn oath, as soon as they returned to Syracuse to exert their utmost efforts for his recall. He appears to have proceeded to Sparta before the arrival of his successors, leaving his colleagues at Miletus with a newly built squadron of 20 galleys. His main object at Sparta was apparently to counteract the machinations of Tissaphernes, who was perhaps endeavouring by the intrigues of his emissaries to supplant Pharnabazus in the confidence of the Spartans. The satrap's agents were instructed to meet the charges of Hermocrates with a calumnious allegation, that he had applied to Tissaphernes for money, and that the refusal he met with was the motive of his resentment.¹ But this story was not believed, and the

¹ Thucyd. viii. 85. An intelligent reader of the original will not require a proof, that this is the epoch to which Thucydides refers, and consequently that Hermocrates had not been before superseded.

statements of Hermocrates were supported by Astyochus, who seems no longer to have had anything to gain by falsehood. And the public opinion at Sparta turned so strongly against Tissaphernes, that he was suspected of having concerted a revolution which took place about this time at Thasos, in which the partisans of Sparta and the Spartan governor Eteonicus were expelled. Hermocrates, after thus defeating the artifices of Tissaphernes, returned to Asia, and was most cordially received by Pharnabazus, who supplied him liberally with money to fit out ships and engage mercenaries for his return to Syracuse. In the meanwhile the new Syracusan generals, Demarchus, Myscon, and Potamis, arrived at Miletus, and the troops, notwithstanding their regret for the loss of Hermocrates and his colleagues, quietly submitted to their command.

After the battle of Cyzicus, Pasippidas, a Spartan, had been collecting as many ships as he could from the allies of Sparta in the north. He was probably at Thasos when the revolution took place there ; for he was accused of conspiring with Tissaphernes to bring it about, and was condemned to banishment, or remained in voluntary exile to escape a more rigorous sentence. Cratesippidas was sent out as admiral in the room of Mindarus, and found the galleys which had been collected by Pasippidas in Chios. While the Peloponnesians were thus forming a new navy, Thrasyllus was raising a powerful armament at Athens. A slight advantage which he gained over Agis, who had incautiously advanced in a marauding inroad too near the city walls, animated the people the more readily to entrust him with the forces he applied for, and they voted 1000 heavy infantry, 100 horse, and 50 galleys. While he was busied with his preparations, Agis was one day struck by the sight of the corn-ships which he observed from the heights of Decclea sailing into Piræus, and complained that he and his troops were only wasting their time in the occupation of Attica, so long as corn was permitted to be poured into Athens by sea ; and he advised that Clearchus — who it seems had

by this time returned from his first mission — should again be sent to the Bosphorus to use all his influence at Byzantium and Chalcedon for the purpose of interrupting the Athenian commerce in that its most important quarter. This suggestion was adopted, and fifteen vessels were fitted out, from Megara, and some other of the confederate cities, and filled with troops. Three of these transports were intercepted at the mouth of the Hellespont by an Athenian squadron of nine galleys which was stationed there: the rest made their way to Byzantium, where Clearchus seems to have taken up his residence as governor.

In the spring of 409 Thrasyllus, having completed his preparations during the winter, and having armed 5000 of the seamen to serve as targeteers, sailed to Samos, and, after staying there three days, crossed over to the main land, and landed his troops near the small town of Pygela, which he attacked without success. But he ravaged the adjacent country, and almost entirely destroyed a body of troops which came from Miletus to its relief. The next day he sailed to Notium, and thence led his troops against Colophon, which immediately surrendered. He staid there but a few hours, and in the middle of the night resumed his march, and made an inroad into the interior of Lydia, where the corn was just ripe. Here he burnt several villages, and returned to the coast laden with plunder, having only experienced one very slight interruption from a troop of cavalry commanded by Stages, a Persian, who happened to be near the scene of his devastation. He now proceeded to attack Ephesus; but Tissaphernes had received intelligence of his design, and had made preparations for the defence of the place, which was of peculiar importance on account of its wealth and of its numerous Persian residents. He had taken advantage of the reverence with which the temple was regarded by Greeks and barbarians, and had sent horsemen round to raise the population of the adjacent region *for the defence of the goddess*. Besides the auxiliaries thus collected, the Ephesians

were succoured by the troops of the Syracusan squadron, which had been reinforced by five others from Syracuse, which brought two new generals, and by two from Salinus. Thrasyllus landed his forces during the night, in two divisions, on opposite sides of Ephesus; the heavy infantry at the foot of Mount Coressus, the light troops and the cavalry on a marshy level to the north and at daybreak began his march toward the city. But the Ephesians and their allies fell upon the two divisions separately and defeated them both, and the Athenians fled to their ships with the loss of about 400 lives. The Sicilian troops were acknowledged to have contributed most to the victory, and were rewarded by the Ephesians with public and private honours and immunities, and those of Selinus, who had just been deprived of their own city by the Carthaginian invasion, were admitted to the freedom of Ephesus. Thrasyllus, after burying his dead at Notium, sailed away to Lesbos. While he was at anchor at Methymne seeing the Syracusan squadron, now twenty-five galleys, sailing by, he attacked them, captured four, and chased the rest back to Ephesus. The Syracusan prisoners were sent to Athens, where by way of retaliation they were confined in the quarries of Munychia, but contrived in the course of the next winter to dig through the rock, and escaped to Decelea and thence to Megara. In one of the prizes was a remarkable person, the cousin and namesake of Alcibiades, who had been involved in his kinsman's misfortune by the information — probably the calumny — of Diocledes. It would seem as if he had not been included in the decree which reversed his cousin's sentence; but that Thrasyllus notwithstanding ventured to set him at liberty.

¹ This has been the almost unanimous opinion of the commentators on Xenophon, i. 2. 13., who have therefore agreed in considering his text in this passage as corrupt, though they differ as to the mode of correcting it. The text actually expresses a very different fact; that Thrasyllus caused Alcibiades to be stoned: *καταλυσεν*. The emendation *καταλυσ* is indeed very simple and easy, but unfortunately does not give the sense required. Wolf's conjecture *ἀταλυσεν* would not be liable to this objection; but it is very difficult to conceive how this should have been corrupted into *καταλυσεν*. Still if it was certain that Alcibiades the Phegusian was a friend, as well as a kinsman of the son of Clinias, it would be improbable that

He then pursued his voyage northward, and joined the squadron which was lying under the command of Alcibiades at Sestus, from whence the whole fleet soon after crossed over to Lampsacus, which they fortified, designing to make it their head-quarters for the winter. But the troops who had been serving with uninterrupted success under Alcibiades refused for some time to mingle in the same ranks with those of Thrasyllus, whom they looked upon as dishonoured by their defeat at Ephesus. In the course of the winter however Alcibiades made an expedition against Abydus, and routed a strong body of cavalry which Pharnabazus brought up to protect it; and after this common victory the troops of Thrasyllus were greeted and recognised by their comrades. Several inroads were afterwards made from Lampsacus into the interior, to ravage the province of Pharnabazus.

During the same winter Sparta at length relieved herself from the thorn which Demosthenes had planted in her side. The garrison of Pylus, besieged by a great land force, and blockaded by a squadron of eleven galleys, was obliged to capitulate, and permitted to withdraw. The Athenians had sent thirty galleys to relieve it, under the command of Anytus, a name which afterwards became unhappily notorious. But he was prevented by contrary winds from doubling Malea, and returned, after a bootless voyage, to Athens. The people, indignant as usual at the disappointment, imputed it to the treachery of Anytus, and he was brought to trial. According to Diodorus he saved his life by bribing his judges, and this was the first case in which such corruption was practised at Athens. This last opinion is indeed confirmed by the authority of Aristotle¹, yet we do not

Thrasyllus should have made him suffer the death of a traitor. But it remains to be more attentively considered whether this ought to be assumed as indisputable. If there was any foundation for the charge of Diocles (vol. iii. p. 395.), if Alcibiades the Phegresian was one of the persons who openly or secretly fostered the popular delusion in the proceedings against the Hermes-breakers, we should be led to suspect that he could not have been on good terms with his kinsman, who might have been gratified instead of being displeased with his punishment.

¹ Harpocratio Δειξιζων. It is not certain that Aristotle alluded to this trial, nor even that he meant the same person. This Anytus was the son

know enough of the state of the Athenian tribunals at this period, to be sure that the verdict, which was apparently so just, was not honestly given. The success of the Spartans at Pylus was in some degree balanced by a disaster which they experienced about the same time in their ill-fated colony of Heraclea, where the Spartan harmost Labotas was slain with 700 men in a battle with the implacable Cætæans through the treachery of their Achæan comrades, who seem to have been admitted — against the spirit of the original institutions — to the franchise.¹ On the other hand the Athenians suffered another loss this winter, which they perhaps felt not less keenly than that of Pylus. The Megarians, who were now reinforced by the Syracusan prisoners who had escaped from Munychia, made themselves masters of Nisæa. The Athenians sent Leotrophides and Timarchus, with 1000 infantry and 400 cavalry, to revenge this blow. They were met near the border by the whole force of Megara, supported by the Syracusans² and a small body of Lacedæmonians, but completely defeated it, and pursued the Megarians with great slaughter to the town. But Nisæa was not retrieved.

Early in the spring of 408 the Athenian fleet moved from Lampsacus toward the Bosphorus, which now became the principal theatre of war, as it was generally felt, according to the observation of Agis, that the issue of the struggle mainly turned on the command of this great thoroughfare of Greek commerce. The generals began their operations with the siege of Chalcedon, where Hippocrates was harmost. On the approach of the Athenian armament, the Chalcedonians removed all their

of Anthemio. He *may*, as Duker shows, Obs. Miss. v. p. 157., have been the accuser of Socrates.

¹ This is one way of accounting for their presence. Xenophon does not explain either how they came to be engaged in battle, or who they were. But perhaps we ought to connect this transaction with the proceedings of Agis mentioned by Thucydides, viii. 16., and above, p. 5. These may have been Achæans of Phthia, who were engaged reluctantly as auxiliaries to the Heracleans.

² For it is most probably they who are signified by the words of Diodorus, xiii. 65. παραλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν ἐκ Συρακῶν.

rural property of a movable kind out of the country, and entrusted it to the care of their neighbours the Bithynian Thracians. Hearing this, Alcibiades advanced with a small body of troops to the Bithynian border while the fleet sailed along the coast, and demanded that the deposit should be given up to him. The Thracians were perhaps honest, but they were not prepared to sacrifice themselves for their Greek allies; they surrendered their charge, and gave pledges of submission. On his return to Chalcedon he began to invest it with an intrenchment surmounted with a palisade which he carried from sea to sea, interrupted only by the bed of a river which flowed by the town. The works seem to have been nearly finished, when Pharnabazus came up with an army strong in cavalry, and encamped in the sanctuary of Hercules near the town. Hippocrates now made a sally, while Pharnabazus attempted to join him, by forcing his way through the opening with which the circumvallation was broken by the river. Thrasyllus, with the bulk of the Athenian infantry, sustained for a long time, without repelling, the charge of Hippocrates; but at length Alcibiades, who had probably been engaged in taking precautions against the movements of Pharnabazus, came up with the cavalry, and decided the fortune of the day. Hippocrates fell; his troops were driven back into the town, and Pharnabazus, unable to effect a passage, retreated to his encampment. The low state of the military chest forced Alcibiades, as soon as he had invested Chalcedon, to set off on an expedition to the Hellespont, to raise money. In his absence his colleagues entered into a negotiation with Pharnabazus who, finding that the Peloponnesian allies were not able to protect his province from the hostility of the Athenians, and that their affairs were declining, was probably desirous of peace. It was now agreed that he should pay the Athenians twenty talents, and should give safe conduct to an embassy which they were to send to the Persian court: and that until these ambassadors returned they should suspend their operations against Chalcedon;

in the meanwhile the Chalcedonians were to pay their ancient tribute and the arrears which had become due since they revolted from Athens.

This convention was ratified by all the generals except Alcibiades, who, having collected all the forces of the Greek towns in the Chersonesus, together with a body of Thracians, and about 300 horse, had taken Selymbria, and thence proceeded to reduce Byzantium. Pharnabazus required that he should ratify the treaty; and Alcibiades — as if he had been a distinct party — demanded that the like ceremony should be executed on the part of the satrap to himself. Accordingly two commissioners appointed by Pharnabazus received the oath of Alcibiades at Chrysopolis, while he took that which was tendered to him by two agents of Alcibiades at Chalcedon. And, as if to make the importance of Alcibiades more conspicuous, he and the satrap, beside the oath taken by all the generals, interchanged separate and personal pledges of faith. Pharnabazus then left Chalcedon, directing the Athenian ambassadors to repair to Cyzicus. They were accompanied by two Argives; but at the same time an embassy was appointed to guard the interests of Sparta and her allies; and it was headed — notwithstanding the charge under which he had been recently labouring — by Pasippidas. Hermocrates and his brother Proxenus — how authorised and for what purposes we are not informed — accompanied the Lacedæmonian envoys. Pharnabazus himself undertook to conduct them to court.

In the meanwhile Alcibiades prosecuted the siege of Byzantium, carried a circumvallation across the land side of the town, and made several attempts to carry it by assault. These were all baffled; but the provisions of the besieged — whose supplies had perhaps been much straitened by the enemy before the siege was regularly formed — soon began to fail; and the evils of famine were aggravated among the inhabitants by the cruelty and insolence of Clearchus, who, when food grew scarce reserved all that he found for the use of the garrison.

while the Byzantians and their families were starving. Having thus, as he thought, provided for the immediate security of the place, reckless of the sufferings by which it was purchased, he crossed over to Asia for the purpose of obtaining a subsidy from Pharnabazus, and of collecting an armament strong enough to draw off the Athenians from the siege, committing the defence of the town to the Megarian Helixus, and to Cœratadas, who commanded the Bœotian division of the garrison. But he had relied too much on the patience of the inhabitants, who had already entered into correspondence with the besiegers, and, as soon as he was gone, concerted a plan for admitting them within the walls. One night they opened the gates on the land side to Alcibiades and his troops, while the attention of the garrison was engaged by the movements of the Athenian fleet, which feigned a sudden attack on the harbour. The stratagem was completely successful; and Helixus and Cœratadas were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners with 300 of the garrison. As it was necessity, rather than goodwill toward the Athenians, that urged the authors of the plot, they stipulated with Alcibiades that none of their fellow-citizens should be punished for their previous political offences: and this condition was observed. This was the only reward they asked for: and their conduct was so manifestly dictated by disinterested patriotism, that when they were afterwards brought to trial as traitors they were acquitted by the judgment of the Spartans themselves.

In the spring of 407, Pharnabazus and the rival ambassadors, who had stopt during the most inclement part of the winter at the Phrygian town of Gordium, were pursuing their journey, when they met another Lacedæmonian embassy headed by Bœotius, which was returning from the Persian court. They announced that they had been completely successful in their application to the king; and their assertions were confirmed by the presence of Cyrus; a younger son of Darius, who was sent down with instructions to aid the Lace-

dæmonians in carrying on the war, and with a commission which invested him with supreme authority over the whole maritime region of Asia Minor, or, as the royal letter described it, over all who assembled in the plains of Castolus.¹ The Athenian envoys were nevertheless desirous of continuing their journey; if this was not permitted, they demanded leave to return home. But Cyrus, who entered with ardour on the duties assigned to him, desired Pharnabazus either to put them into his hands, or to detain them for a time, that the Athenians might not be warned of their danger; and Pharnabazus, to gratify the prince, kept them in custody, amusing them with promises, sometimes of conducting them to court, sometimes of sending them back to the coast: and it was not until they had been imprisoned three years, that he obtained leave from Cyrus to release them.

Alcibiades, having achieved so many brilliant and important conquests, having rescued the state from the dangers of intestine discord, made the name of Athens once more formidable to her revolted subjects, and enabled her to cope with the Peloponnesian confederacy supported by the power of Persia, now thought it time to show himself at home. Soon after the reduction of Byzantium he sailed to Samos with the greater part of the fleet, and thence proceeded with twenty galleys to levy contributions on the coast of Caria, where he collected 100 talents. Thrasybulus was sent with eighty galleys to the coast of Thrace, where he restored the Athenian sovereignty in most of the revolted cities, and among the rest in Thasos, which, since it threw off its obedience to Athens, had been reduced to great distress by war and civil broils and their attendant famine. Thrasybulus conducted the rest of the armament to Athens,

¹ Κάσπινον τῶν ἐς Καρπῶλιν ἀθροισμένων. Castolus it appears from Steph. Byz. was in Lydia. Its connection with the Dorians which Stephanus there intimates is inexplicable. Nor do we know what were the provinces included in this description. The word Κάσπινον is also an enigma. But Xenophon does not give the slightest hint to warrant the fancy, that it was the intention of Darius to dismember his empire in favour of Cyrus, who on the contrary always speaks as his father's officer.

where he found that Alcibiades had been elected one of the new generals with Thrasybulus and Conon. Alcibiades, having returned with his treasure to Samos, sailed first to Paros, and then made for Gythium, under pretext of observing the preparations of the Spartans, who were said to be fitting out a squadron of thirty galleys there, but really to gather information as to the state of public feeling toward himself; and—all his doubts having been removed by his recent appointment, and by private assurances from his friends—he at length sailed into Piræus.

It seems to be sufficiently attested that he made his entry with the pomp of a naval triumph, though its circumstances are wholly omitted in Xenophon's dry narrative, and were probably much exaggerated by later writers. It is impossible to say how far he may have ventured to indulge his natural love of ostentation with the splendour which some of these writers described him to have displayed on this occasion.¹ But it appears that he reserved for himself the privilege of bringing home the prizes which had been taken in the late campaigns, which amounted according to Diodorus to no less than 200 vessels²—and that his squadron was both richly adorned with the most glittering spoils, and attended by transports laden with prisoners and booty. The crowd which flocked to the shores of Piræus to witness his landing was perhaps as great as that which saw him embark for Sicily, and now he was the exclusive object of the public curiosity. The sentiments which he excited in the breasts of the spectators were various as the view they took of the events which had caused so great a change in the state of Athens since his last departure. The majority however regarded him as an

¹ As the Samian Duris, who prided himself on being a descendant of Alcibiades, *Plut. Alc. 32.*, *Athenæus xii. p. 585.*, and related that the galley of Alcibiades was adorned with purple sails, and that the rowers, as they entered the harbour, were kept to time by the flute of Chrysogonus, and the voice of Callippides, a tragic actor, both in sacred or theatrical attire.

² But Plutarch, *Alc. 32.*, more judiciously supposes that this number included those which had been destroyed, and of which he carried away the ornaments of the prows.

injured man, the victim of the envy and animosity of his ambitious and turbulent rivals, who had first denied him an opportunity of vindicating his innocence, and then had misled the people to drive him into exile. "It was his misfortune rather than his fault, that he had been obliged to take refuge among the enemies of his country, who had shown by their treatment of him how little they believed his heart to be with them, how much they dreaded his unalterable attachment to Athens. Great as his abilities were, his fellow citizens had nothing to fear, but much to hope from them. For minds like his the honours with which the people rewarded his services were sufficient to satisfy their ambition: his adversaries, who, conscious of no real merit, could only hope to rise upon the ruin of abler and better men, were much more dangerous to the commonwealth." There were however others who considered him as the sole author of their past calamities, and of all the dangers which were still impending over Athens. And this party did not fail to notice that the day of his return was one of evil omen: for indeed it happened to be that on which the image of the tutelary goddess was annually stript of its ornaments for the sake of the needful reparations and ablutions¹, and was veiled from public view; and it was therefore marked in the Attic calendar as an unlucky day², and was one on which no religious Athenian would transact any business. But there were probably few in whose minds such reflections and forebodings were not at least for a time excluded by the thought, which the spectacle more immediately suggested, of the victories and conquests, by which Alcibiades had raised his country, from the depth of humiliation and despondency into which she had fallen when she had lost his support, to her present lofty and firm position.

¹ Hence the holiday was called Πλυντήρια. The house of the Praxiargidæ enjoyed the exclusive privilege of performing these rites, which were derived from a very remote antiquity. The custom was the foundation of a whole class of legends, such as that which was the subject of the poem of Callimachus, *In Lavacro Palladis*.

² Ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀτορεῶν. Plut. Alc. 34.

He did not however wholly rely on the favour of the multitude, though he had neglected no means of ensuring it, and when his galley came alongside the quay he did not venture to leave the deck until he observed his cousin Euryptolemus and a strong body of kinsmen and friends ready to escort him to the city. He then landed, and was greeted by the crowd with all the tokens of that enthusiasm which the sight of an old favourite under such circumstances could not fail to kindle. Garlands were showered upon his head, the air rang with acclamations; the throng pressed upon the circle of friends that surrounded him, to gaze at him and salute him. Thus attended he went up to the city, and presented himself successively before the council and the assembly. He there asserted his innocence, bewailed his misfortunes, complained, but with delicate forbearance, of his wrongs, imputed his calamities to the malignity of fortune and the envy of a higher power, but dwelt at the greatest length on the fair prospects which were now open for Athens. His hearers, touched, flattered, and excited, by his address, testified their sympathy and delight by the extraordinary honours which they conferred on him, and none of his enemies ventured to raise a dissentient voice. The records of the proceedings against him were sunk in the sea¹; his property was restored to him; the priests were ordered to recant their curses²; a golden crown was decreed to him³; and he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of the commonwealth both by land and by sea.

The first use which he made of his new authority was highly judicious. Since the enemy had been in possession of Decelea, the sacred procession, in which certain objects of a mystic worship were transported from Athens to Eleusis, attended by a throng of devotees,

¹ Diodorus, xiii. 69. τὰς δίκας κατεπότισαν. Nepos Alc. 6., eilæ illæ in quibus devotio fulrat scripta.

² The Hierophant Theodorus is said to have declined this recantation as unnecessary: for he had only cursed Alcibiades as the enemy of Athens. This ambiguous language seems to indicate a hostile spirit.

³ Plutarch, Alc. 33., speaks in the plural number. But neither Xenophon nor Diodorus mentions any crown.

had been discontinued through fear of hostile interruption; the mystic treasures had been carried by sea, the crowd of worshippers had consequently been greatly diminished, and many ancient observances and popular amusements, which were connected with certain stations on the sacred road, became impracticable. Alcibiades resolved at once to display his zeal for religion, and his contempt of the enemy, and thus to conciliate the superstitious prejudices which he had offended, and to raise the spirit of the troops, by conducting the mystic procession under a military escort to Eleusis. Having taken suitable precautions against surprise, by securing the passes and watching the enemy's movements, he led out the whole of the armed force which was not required for the defence of the city, and, placing the priests and their mystic train in the centre, marched to Eleusis. Agis either did not feel himself strong enough to offer any interruption, or was restrained from the attempt by religious scruples. But the success of this military pilgrimage did not the less sooth the pride as well as the piety of the Athenians, and heighten their confidence in their commander-in-chief, to whom they voted an armament of 100 galleys, 1500 heavy infantry, and 150 horse, with leave, if we may trust Plutarch and Diodorus, to nominate his colleagues.¹ Within four months after his return² he had completed his preparations for a new expedition, and, with Aristocrates and Adimantus³, sailed from Athens for the last time. He first bent his course to Andros, which was in a state of rebellion, and, having landed his troops, defeated those of the enemy, who met him in the field, and shut them up within their walls. But he could not reduce the town, or did not think it worth the time which a

¹ The rhetoricians invented, as a topic for declamation, a law which Alcibiades was supposed to have recommended — that no general should be recalled from his command (to be put upon his trial). Meursius has carefully inserted this statute in his *Themis Attica*, i. 11., on the authority of the Scholiast of Apthionius.

² See Mr. Clinton F. H. B. c. 407.

³ Instead of Aristocrates, Diodorus, xiii. 69., names Thrasybulus, who appears not to have returned to Athens before the battle of Arginusæ.

siege would have cost, and in a few days set sail again for Samos, leaving one of his colleagues with a small force to harass the enemy.

The Spartan government seems to have felt the necessity not only of making preparations for facing the Athenian armament, but of sending out a man capable of commanding against Alcibiades. And Sparta happened at this time to possess one better qualified for this purpose, and in all respects more suited to her present emergency, than any of her ancient worthies. This was Lysander, son of Aristoclitus. His father was a man of high birth; for, though not of the royal lineage, he belonged to a branch of the Heracleids. But his mother seems not to have been a citizen; and hence Lysander is sometimes described as of ignoble, if not of servile origin, and clearly appears not to have been entitled by birth to the full privileges of the Spartan franchise. But he shared the education of the noblest class of youths, and was not forbidden to aspire to some of the highest dignities in the state. To these peculiar circumstances, which, while they stimulated his ambition, left him to depend on his industry for success, he probably owed much of that suppleness which distinguished his character beyond that of any of his countrymen, whose names we have hitherto had occasion to mention. And this was a quality so foreign to the Spartan nature, that it attracted more attention, and produced a greater effect, than it would have done in a Greek of any other city. A Spartan generally found it the hardest of all things to stoop, and frequently through the want of personal address lost the advantages which he gained by his policy or military talents. So we have seen that Gylippus and Clearchus had disgusted their allies by their arrogant demeanour, and even Brasidas, though his manners were generally prepossessing, had not been able to avoid a breach with Perdiccas, whom a little more pliancy would probably have conciliated without any sacrifice of the public interest. It seems to have been this quality, more than

his general reputation for activity and abilities — though he had probably given proofs of both — that recommended Lysander as a successor of Cratesippidas in the office of Admiral, when his year expired.

It was perhaps known at Sparta that a Persian prince was expected to take the supreme command in the maritime provinces, and that the talents of a dexterous negotiator might be required at his court to support the Spartan interests against the intrigues of Tissaphernes. Lysander, having strengthened the squadron with which he was sent out, with reinforcements from Rhodes, Cos, Miletus, and Chios, which raised its numbers to seventy galleys, sailed to Ephesus, and there waited, with the Lacedæmonian envoys who had just returned from the Persian court, till he heard that Cyrus had arrived at Sardis; and then, accompanied by the envoys, proceeded thither in person. They found Cyrus well disposed to listen to their complaints against Tissaphernes, whom he looked upon as his enemy, and when they requested him to exert himself in their behalf, he assured them that he was prepared to carry the king's instructions into full effect: he had brought 500 talents with him; and, if this sum should prove insufficient, he would spend his private revenues in their cause, and sooner than let them want money, he would melt down the precious metals that adorned the throne on which he sat to give them audience. It was a figure of speech, like that which Tissaphernes was said to have used on a similar occasion, but more sincerely meant. These friendly professions encouraged Lysander to make a more specific request, and to represent to him, that if he would enable them to pay their seamen at the rate of a drachma a day, instead of the half-drachma which they now received, the crews of the Athenian galleys would soon desert, and he would save the expense of a protracted war. But Cyrus pleaded that he was bound by the king's orders, and by the terms of the treaty, which prescribed the amount of the subsidy to be paid for every galley which the Lacedæmonians wished to

maintain. Lysander saw that this was not the time to urge his request, and in the course of the day he found a more favourable opportunity. Cyrus entertained the envoys, and before the banquet was over, Lysander had made such progress in his good graces, that as he placed the cup out of which he had been drinking, according to the Greek usage, in his guest's hands, he desired to know how he might oblige him. The Spartan took advantage of this offer to obtain an addition of an obolus to the daily wages of the seamen, and before he left Sardis received not only the arrears then due, but a month's pay in advance. The effect of this supply soon became visible in the spirits of the men and the strength of the fleet, which was raised to ninety galleys. But Alcibiades had likewise augmented his forces, and stationed himself at Notium, to watch the enemy's movements. The Peloponnesian fleet was both inferior in numbers, and needed repairs; and Lysander had it hauled on shore to refit, while he waited for an opportunity of action.

It came unexpectedly, through the imprudence of Alcibiades. He had endeavoured, without effect, to counteract the influence of Lysander at the court of Cyrus, for it was probably he who induced Tissaphernes to apply to the prince for leave to introduce an Athenian embassy there. Tissaphernes instructed Cyrus in the system of policy which he himself had learned from Alcibiades, and advised him to beware of making any of the Greek states too powerful, and to let them all waste their strength in their intestine quarrels. But Cyrus, beside his dislike of the counsellor, had good reasons for rejecting his advice. He had probably already formed views, of which Tissaphernes was ignorant, and which made it expedient for him to connect himself as closely as he could, not by hollow professions, but by real services, with one of the belligerents, and, as the Spartan alliance promised much greater advantages than he could derive from the friendship of Athens, he was sincerely desirous of establishing the ascendancy of Sparta,

and of crushing her rival; he therefore refused to receive the Athenian embassy. Alcibiades seems now to have been much embarrassed, and to have been driven to some violent methods of raising supplies, to prevent his men from yielding to the attraction of the Persian gold. An unprovoked attack which he is said to have made on the territory of Cuma¹, was apparently suggested by no other motive; and it was probably with a like object that, hearing that Thrasybulus had left the Hellespont, and was fortifying Phocæa, he sailed thither to meet him. But he left the fleet at Notium, under the command of Antiochus, the master of his own galley, with strict injunctions to avoid an engagement, even if the enemy should offer battle during his absence.

Antiochus is said to have been a skilful seaman, but he had not been recommended to the confidence of Alcibiades either by his talents or his virtues. Their intimacy it appears had arisen out of a childish occasion already mentioned², and had been cemented chiefly by their convivial intercourse, in which Alcibiades, who, as he was capable of the highest kinds of enjoyment, could also descend to the lowest, was pleased with his companion's boisterous spirits and nautical buffoonery. Antiochus, presuming on his familiarity with his commander, seems to have been totally heedless of the orders he had received. He appears to have attributed the inaction in which Lysander had kept his fleet, to timidity or the consciousness of weakness, and overlooking the difference between himself and Alcibiades, to have thought that, if he could only draw the enemy out, he should be certain of victory, and at least might enjoy the pleasure of insulting him with perfect safety. He therefore sailed from Notium, taking only one galley in company with his own, into the harbour of Ephesus, and as he passed close by the prows of the Peloponnesian fleet, offered every kind of contumely, by word and gesture, that could provoke an attack. Lysander

Diodor. xiii. 73. Nejos, Alc. 7., confounds Cuma and Notium.

² Vol. III. p. 331.

at length ordered a few galleys to give him chase. But when he saw Antiochus supported by a detachment from the Athenian fleet, he advanced with the remainder of his own in order of battle. The Athenians now also brought out their whole force ; but they came up in separate groups, without order or plan, and were defeated in detail. The galley of Antiochus himself, which was among the foremost, was soon sunk, and his death probably hastened the flight of the rest. They took refuge in Samos, leaving fifteen destroyed or taken : but the greater part of the men were saved by the nearness of the shore. Alcibiades, on hearing of this disaster, came to Samos, and sailed out with his whole force toward Ephesus, to offer battle. But even after the recent loss, he was still superior in numbers, and Lysander would not risk the honour of his newly erected trophy. Alcibiades returned to Samos, rather shamed by the enemy's caution, than consoled by the display of his own strength.

The news of the battle of Notium was carried to Athens by some of his personal enemies, and among the rest by Thrasybulus, son of Thraso, who did not fail to add every circumstance which could place his conduct in the most unfavourable light. They found public opinion already turned against him, and suspicion and discontent generally prevailing, instead of the admiration and confidence which he had inspired a few months before. It was indeed scarcely possible that the expectations excited by his first successes should have been completely fulfilled, and they were perhaps purposely raised to the highest pitch by his adversaries, who knew that his reputation would suffer in proportion from the first reverse that might befall him. His unsuccessful attempt upon Andros was the first disappointment that chilled the popular enthusiasm. The eyes of the people had also been directed to Chios, with lively hopes that this important island and with it all the revolted Ionian towns would soon be restored to the

dominion of Athens.¹ Not only was no step gained toward this end, but soon after the battle of Notium the Lacedæmonians took the fortress of Delphinium, which the Athenians had hitherto kept, and thus deprived them of their last footing in Chios.² About the same time news came that Eion had fallen into the enemy's hands. Alcibiades, as commander-in-chief, was held accountable for all these losses, which it was universally believed he only wanted the will to prevent. The people asked what he had done: and they heard from his enemies, that, while he abandoned the charge of the great armament which he commanded to unworthy favourites, the companions of his debaucheries, he was enriching himself, and supplying the demands of his luxurious habits, with the contributions which he extorted from the allies of the state. And this charge appears to have been not altogether unfounded; for though he may not have sacrificed the public service to his pleasures, it seems clear that he indulged without restraint in those which the wealthy and voluptuous cities of the Asiatic coast placed within his reach.³ It was also discovered that he had built a stronghold in the neighbourhood of Pactye in the Thracian Chersonesus⁴; and this provision for a refuge in distress was believed to indicate consciousness of guilt or of a treasonable design. The affair of Notium confirmed suspicions which had been before floating in the public mind, and excited its resentment to the utmost. Alcibiades was removed from his command; and Thrasybulus—though it does not appear that he had been guilty of any offence but that of receiving his colleague's unfortunate visit—was involved in the same disgrace. His attachment to Alcibiades was perhaps the motive which really swayed the

¹ Lysias Alcib. i. p. 143.

² Diodorus attributes this conquest to Callieratidas, xiii. 76.

³ Compare Plut. Alc. 36., Athenæus, xii. p. 535.

⁴ Τα ἑαυτοῦ τεῖχη. Xenophon, Hell. i. 5. 17. They were near the coast of the Hellespont. Xenophon, Hell. ii. 1. 25. Ἰεστὴ Βασίλειος. Plut. Alc. 36. Se Pactyen contulit (Diodorus xiii. 74) ibique tria castella communiuit, Bornos, Bisanthen, Neontichos. Nepos Alc. 7.

authors of these measures ; though they must have devised a different pretext to cover their attack. He however continued to serve in the fleet ; but Alcibiades, who found that even there his conduct was generally condemned, sailed away to his fortified domain in the Chersonesus.

Conon was permitted to remain in office. He was wealthy, and his family seems to have belonged to the higher class ; he had probably taken no part in the late political convulsions, and might therefore be courted as a useful ally by every party. He had hitherto met with few opportunities of displaying his talents, though it may perhaps be collected from a narrative of Diodorus, which however is certainly much exaggerated, and perhaps full of fictitious incidents—that he had preserved Corcyra, when it was again threatened by its domestic factions, and had secured the Athenian interest without a renewal of the old scenes of bloodshed.¹ He had however probably been rising in reputation, and was now looked upon as the man who was most capable of filling the place of Alcibiades. Nine new colleagues were associated with him ; and the list of their names possesses an unusual interest on account of its connection with some of the most important events of the ensuing history. They were Diomedon, Leon², Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, Aristogenes. Conon was at this time at Andros, prosecuting the siege, with a squadron of twenty galleys. He received orders to proceed with his squadron to Samos, and to take the command of the fleet ; and

¹ Unless we suppose him to have done this, the whole account of the sedition in Diodorus, xiii. 48., must be rejected as a mere fiction. But the observation of Thucydides, iv. 48., proves that the description of Diodorus is at least greatly overcharged.

² Xenophon, H. i. 5. 16., names Leon, an officer already known to us, as one of the ten ; but in the description of the battle of Arginusæ he omits his name, and mentions Lysias instead. Schneider would therefore substitute the name of Lysias for that of Leon in the list, i. 5. 16., and would omit the name of Leon in the next passage where it occurs, H. i. 6. 16. It is however just possible that Leon was originally elected, and that he fell into the hands of Callicratidas in one of the galleys which Conon sent out from Mitylene, and that Lysias was appointed to fill his place.

Phanosthenes was sent with four galleys to Andros. On his way to Andros, Phanosthenes made a capture, which enabled the Athenians to exhibit a generous feeling, of which unhappily few instances occur in Greek history. Dorieus with two Thracian galleys fell in his way, and was taken and sent to Athens. He had been outlawed, with his whole family, both in Rhodes and at Athens, as a sworn foe to the Athenian interests; and the activity with which he had since served on the side of the Peloponnesians had rendered him an object of extraordinary resentment to the Athenians. Yet the people were softened by the presence of their inveterate enemy, when he was brought as a captive before the assembly; they rescinded his sentence, and restored him to liberty without a ransom.¹ His majestic aspect, and the many victories which he had won in the national games², pleaded no doubt powerfully for him, and detract something from the merit of the clemency which he experienced. Yet they did not, it seems, prove sufficient, though coupled with the recollection of many important services, to screen him from the resentment of the Spartans, who are said to have put him to death some years³ afterwards on a slight suspicion.³ We do not know how far he may have contributed to an event which took place in the course of this year, and which is the most memorable in the history of his native island, and not without moment in the affairs of Greece. The three chief towns of the island, Ialysus, Lindus, and Camirus, were politically incorporated in a new capital, which took the name of Rhodes, and contributed each a share to its population.⁴ The unfailing tendency of such changes to promote democratical ascendancy, must, we should think, have rendered Sparta averse to this union, though in the present state of her affairs she did not venture to oppose it. And if Dorieus, notwith-

¹ Xenophon *Hell.* i. 5. 19.

² Paus. vi. 7. 4.

³ Paus. vi. 7. 6., on the authority of Androtion.

⁴ Diodor. xiii. 75.

standing his aristocratical prejudices, was induced by patriotic motives to forward it, his conduct, on this occasion, may have secretly provoked that displeasure, which afterwards vented itself under the colour of a groundless charge.¹

¹ Pausanias in his odd manner observes that, if what Androtion relates as to the death of Dorieus is true, the Spartans in this instance showed as much rashness (*παρρησία*) as the Athenians in their treatment of the generals who conquered at Arginusæ. But rashness was never a Spartan failing.

CHAP. XXX.

FROM THE BATTLE OF NOTIUM TO THE END OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

WHEN Conon came to Samos, he found the fleet under his command superior in numbers to the enemy: but despondency was prevailing among the men; partly perhaps a consequence of the recent defeat: it was however probably still more owing to the want of full and regular pay, and to the contrast which they saw in this respect between their own prospects and those of the Peloponnesians, who were provided with an ample and unfailing supply from the inexhaustible riches of the Persian treasury. The Athenian crews appear to have been thinned, as Lysander predicted, by frequent desertions, and Conon deemed it expedient to reduce the numbers of his armament from above a hundred to seventy galleys that each might have its proper complement. His next care was to provide for its immediate exigencies; and he was compelled, as Alcibiades had been, to employ it in expeditions which had no other object than the plunder to be collected in the descents which he made on the enemy's coasts. The autumn and winter passed without any more important operations; for Lysander did not stir from Ephesus. He probably did not feel himself strong enough to seek an engagement; but his attention was also deeply engaged by affairs of a different nature. His ambition was not such as commonly animated a Spartan general: the desire of glory earned in his country's service. His views were directed in the first place to his own aggrandizement: and he wished to make it as much as possible independent of her greatness. He was willing indeed to be useful; but it was in order that he might become necessary to her. On his arrival in Asia he found the Greek cities divided by

the usual factions. The partizans of oligarchy who had been kept down under the dominion of Athens were beginning again to lift up their heads ; but they still generally needed support from without. Here therefore Lysander perceived an opportunity of raising a host of adherents and satellites, bound to himself by the firmest ties of interest, and ready to forward any design for which he might employ them. For the interest of Sparta it would have been sufficient to establish oligarchical government in the room of democracy ; but for Lysander's purpose something more was required. While he staid at Ephesus — where his naval preparations were perhaps rather the pretext than the motive for his protracted sojourn — he sent for some of the leading men from the principal Greek cities, the boldest and most aspiring spirits he could find, and held out to them the prospect of attaining to that absolute power which they coveted over their fellow-citizens. As long as the contest with Athens remained undecided, this end could not be fully accomplished. The downfall of Athens therefore was a necessary condition for the fulfilment of their wishes ; but it was not the only one. They would still need the aid of a patron who could engage the authority of Sparta in their behalf, and they could only hope permanently to triumph over their enemies and rivals, if Lysander continued in a station which enabled him to befriend them. Having thus prepared them for future opportunities of action, he advised them, in the meanwhile to collect their strength in clubs for mutual defence, and gradually to extend their influence by all the means which were already at their disposal : and he gave them an immediate earnest of his own goodwill, by raising them to the highest offices which were subject to his nomination or control, and by abetting them in every aggression on the rights of others which his favour could enable them to commit with impunity.

He had thus placed himself at the head of a number of powerful, enterprising, and unscrupulous factions, which depended entirely on his support, when his year of office expired (406), and Callicratidas was sent to

succeed him. The new admiral was a genuine Spartan of the best stamp, and directly opposite to Lysander in the leading points of his character: zealous for the public service without selfish ends, keenly alive both to his country's honour and his own, impatient of dissimulation and of servility. Lysander exerted his utmost efforts to thwart, discredit, and dishearten his successor. He sent all that was left of the Persian subsidy, back to Cyrus; and he probably instructed his partizans in the allied cities to withhold all that they could of the supplies and succours required for the service. They no doubt sincerely regretted his departure, and perhaps spontaneously vented their dissatisfaction in murmurs at the conduct of the Spartan government, "which so imprudently changed its admirals, and often sent out men who had none of the qualifications needed for the office; no naval experience, no knowledge of mankind, no acquaintance with the people among whom they came to command." He himself, when he resigned the fleet to Callicratidas at Ephesus, bade him remember that it was victorious, and in possession of the sea. But Callicratidas, in answer to this boast, desired him to conduct it to Miletus, and to prove his assertion, by keeping Samos, where the Athenian fleet was lying, on his left hand. Lysander however declined this test, on pretence that he did not choose to interfere with another's province. After his departure Callicratidas drew reinforcements amounting to fifty galleys from Chios, Rhodes, and other quarters, and having thus collected 110 sail, prepared to seek the enemy. The want of money however interrupted his operations; and when he set about procuring supplies, he discovered the machinations of Lysander's adherents, and the murmurs by which they called his capacity in question. He was anxious in the first place to secure the active co-operation of his own countrymen who were serving under him, and for this purpose he assembled them at Ephesus in a council of war, in which with dignified plainness he noticed the complaints which had gone abroad. "He could have

been content to have staid at home ; and had no ambition to dispute the precedence of naval skill with Lysander, or any one else, who pretended to it ; but he had been sent out to command the fleet, and it only remained for him to do his best. But finding himself thwarted as he was, he desired their advice : whether he should stay, or return home, to report the state of affairs to the Spartan government."

To such an appeal only one answer could decently be given : all present exhorted him to persevere in the discharge of his duties. But the only expedient which seemed to present itself for the immediate supply of his necessities was to apply to Cyrus ; and Callicratidas reluctantly repaired to Sardis. It is not clear whether Cyrus had been prepared by Lysander to mortify Callicratidas ; or merely observed the common forms of the Persian court, without being conscious that he was wounding the Spartan's pride. Callicratidas, it seems, expected an immediate audience, and was ordered to wait till the day after the morrow ; and then — either purposely or because he desired to be admitted at an inconvenient hour — he was still repeatedly put off. Plutarch represents him as standing at the prince's gate during the banquet, and, when he was informed by the attendants that Cyrus was drinking, replying that he would wait till he had finished his draught. His patience was at last worn out, and he quitted Sardis without having obtained an audience, deploring the wretched condition of the Greeks, who were reduced to cringe to barbarians for money, and declaring that if ever he returned safe home he would do his utmost to bring about a peace between his country and Athens. He then sailed to Miletus, and thence despatched some galleys to Sparta to procure supplies. Miletus was one of the cities in which Lysander had formed a party, which had hitherto thrown every impediment it could in the way of Callicratidas. He however called a general assembly, stated his wants, and urged the Milesians to relieve them. One of the arguments which Xenophon attributes to him

implies that he considered the war as a struggle for the deliverance of the Asiatic Greeks from the yoke of the barbarians, no less than from that of the Athenians. He promised, as soon as he received the supplies which he expected from Sparta, to requite the Milesians for all that they advanced, and for all the services they rendered to him in the mean while ; and he conjured them to let the barbarians see that, without paying court to them, Sparta and her allies were able to subdue their enemies.

It seems as if the partizans of Lysander, conscious of their own selfish aims, and knowing how much they depended on Spartan patronage, supposed that more was meant by this language than met the ear, and interpreted it not as an appeal to the generosity and patriotism of their fellow-citizens, but as a threat pointed against themselves. They were therefore among the foremost to propose a grant of money out of the public treasury, and even to offer private contributions. With the funds thus raised, and an additional sum furnished by the Chians, augmented, if we may trust Diodorus, by the plunder of Teos¹, Callicratidas was enabled to exert the force of his superior numbers. It is probable that he received an invitation from a party in Methymna, which induced him to shape his course first toward that quarter. For Diodorus relates that the town was betrayed to him, and this may be consistent with Xenophon's statement that the presence of an Athenian garrison, and the predominance of Athenian influence, compelled him to take it by storm. The plunder was given up to the troops ; the captives only were reserved as public property ; but Callicratidas, though urged by his allies, refused to sell the Methymnæans, and declared that, so far as rested with him, no Greek should be made a slave. He was perhaps forced to limit the application of this generous sentiment, so as to except the Athenian prisoners who were sold together with the slaves found in the place.

¹ xiii. 76. All that raises a doubt as to the fact, is, that in the same passage Diodorus attributes the reduction of Delphinium also to Callicratidas, seemingly contradicting Xenophon H. i. 5. 15.

But the Methymnæans were set at liberty, and left in possession of their pillaged town.

Conon, though he was probably aware of the strong reinforcement by which the enemy's numbers had been raised to the double of his own, made an attempt to save Methymna, but he arrived too late; and finding that Callicratidas was already master of the town he anchored for the night off a group of small islands, lying between the coast of Lesbos and the main, called the Hundred Islands.¹ The Spartan admiral, when he heard that the Athenian fleet was in the neighbourhood, declared that he would put a stop to Conon's *dalliance with the sea*², and sailed early next morning in quest of him. He might indeed now claim an absolute mastery over the sea, for since his departure from Miletus, or during his stay there, he had increased his armament to 170 galleys. Conon was sensible of the danger of his position, and had already got under weigh to effect his retreat, when Callicratidas appeared, and immediately began a vigorous pursuit, to prevent him from reaching Samos. Mitylene was the nearest place of refuge, and Conon saw himself compelled to make for it. That he had any intention of combating an armament which surpassed his own by 100 galleys, is difficult to believe³; and Xenophon supposes him to have used his utmost speed. But he was overtaken near the mouth of the harbour, probably by a part of the hostile fleet, and lost thirty galleys before he could make his way into the town where he hauled the remaining forty on shore under shelter of the walls. Callicratidas was master of each entrance of the two harbours formed by the small island on which Old Mitylene was built, and which was parted by a narrow channel called

¹ Νῆσων τῶν Ἑκατὸν καλουμένων, Diodorus xiii. 77. Strabo, xiii. p. 618, derives the name Ἑκατόνησος from Ἑκαταί, a title of Apollo, the god whose worship prevailed on the adjacent coast. By a strange coincidence in a strange oversight, both Wesseling and Schneider describe these islands as near Samos.

² Xen. i. 6. 15. Κόνωνι εἶπεν, ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν.

³ Diodorus, xiii. 77, 78, represents Conon as drawing the enemy into a battle, in which, as at first he had only the foremost of his pursuers on his hands, he was victorious, until the rest came up and captured thirty of his galleys which had advanced too far in pursuit. Polyænus, i. 48. 2, tells half the story.

the Euripus from the main land of Lesbos.¹ He sent for all the forces of Methymna, brought a body of troops over from Chios, and blockaded the town by sea and land. A voluntary supply of money from Cyrus was the first fruits of his success. Mitylene was ill-provided for a siege, especially after its population was increased by so many additional mouths; and Conon saw that unless intelligence of his situation was speedily carried to Athens, he might be forced to surrender before any succours came to his relief. He therefore drew down two of his fastest-sailing galleys, and manned them with the best rowers in the fleet, who went on board before daybreak, and during the day were screened by an awning from the enemy's view, while the soldiers were kept below²: at night they went on shore again. This process was repeated four days to lull the enemy's suspicions. On the fifth, at noon, while the crews of the galleys stationed to guard the mouth of the harbour were taking their meal on shore, the two Athenian galleys suddenly pushed out, and issuing from the harbour made, the one for the south of the Ægæan, the other for the Hellespont. The former was overtaken after a day's chase, the latter outstripped its pursuers, and finally reached Athens.

Xenophon does not inform us how Conon's colleagues were employed while he was engaged in the operations just described. It appears that only two of them accompanied him in his flight to Mitylene.³ Diomedon

¹ See Plehn *Lesbiaca*, p. 14, 15. Schneider's note on *Hell. i. 6. 15.* is in his most confused style. But even without it there are great difficulties about the geography of Xenophon's narrative.

² *Ἐς καλὴν ναὺν μετακίεσθαι.* *Xen. H. i. 6. 59.* The object plainly was concealment: but the precise nature of the contrivance cannot be understood without a clearer notion than we now possess of the *παρεβρύματα* here mentioned by Xenophon, and of the purpose for which they were used on this occasion. Schneider's note on the text is less obscure than that in the *Corrigenda*. How Cæsar's account of Antony's stratagem throws any light on Conon's, which was so completely different both in the end and the means, we are unable to divine.

³ These, according to the present text of Xenophon, *Hell. i. 6. 16.*, were Leon and Erasimides. Morus proposed to strike out both these names, and to substitute that of Arcestratus, who, it appears from *Lysias 240. 3* (*δωρ.* p. 162.), died at Mitylene. Schneider observes that Erasimides, who was present at the battle of Arginusæ, cannot have been blockaded with Conon in Mitylene, unless it was he who commanded the galley which

was elsewhere with a squadron of twelve galleys: perhaps in the Hellespont; and the galley which carried the news to Athens may have apprised him of Conon's danger. He hastened — apparently with more zeal than discretion — to share it, but was intercepted by Callicratidas, and narrowly escaped, leaving ten out of his twelve galleys in the enemy's hands. But the Athenians, as usual, were roused by the new emergency — for the loss of the armament at Mitylene would have been almost irreparable — to extraordinary efforts. They immediately put forth the whole remaining strength of the commonwealth, and by the end of thirty days they had manned a fleet of 110 sail. Every hand that could be spared from the defence of the city was employed in this service. Many citizens of the equestrian class, who were usually exempt from such duty, embarked with the common freemen, and as their number did not still suffice, slaves were invited by the promise of freedom to join the expedition. All Conon's colleagues, except Archestratus, who died at Mitylene, and Leon, for whom Lysias appears to have been substituted, took the command in person. They first sailed to Samos, and there strengthened themselves with ten Samian galleys, and with thirty more from other quarters; and now feeling themselves able to cope with the Peloponnesians they prepared to seek them. Callicratidas on his part did not shrink from a decisive conflict; but leaving Eteonicus with fifty galleys to maintain the blockade of Mitylene, he stationed the remainder of his fleet at Malea, the southernmost headland of Lesbos.¹ In the

escaped to Athens. The like conjecture would, as we have already observed, explain all that is obscure about Leon; so that the text might stand without any alteration. Schneider's conjecture is confirmed by the facts mentioned by Lysias. His client's ship was reckoned the best sailer in the fleet; on this account, after the death of Archestratus, Erasimides went on board of it. This proves that, if Archestratus accompanied Conon to Mitylene, Erasimides was already there: so that the difficulty about his presence at Arginusæ would still remain. And if his galley was accounted the fastest sailer, it *must* have been one of the two selected by Conon.

¹ Not the Malea mentioned by Thucydides, iii. 4. (on which see the note in Vol. III. p. 173.), as was supposed by Schneider, whose note on this subject in his Addenda, p. 98., throws every thing into confusion.

evening of the same day the Athenians arrived at the Arginusæ, three small islands, near the Æolian coast, over against Malea. Their campfires first announced their presence to Callicratidas, who, as soon as he had ascertained it, prepared to surprise them by a sudden attack. For this purpose he set sail at midnight; but a thunderstorm accompanied by a heavy rain induced him to abandon his design, and to wait for daylight before he advanced against them.

The Athenians were then ready to meet or receive him; and a battle ensued, which for the number of vessels engaged was the greatest that had yet been fought between two Greek navies. We are informed by Xenophon, that Callicratidas was dissuaded by Hermon, a Megarian, the master of his galley, from venturing on an action, against such greatly superior numbers as those of the enemy. The Spartan's answer became very celebrated. It was, as Xenophon reports it: "Sparta would suffer no hurt from his death; but he should be dishonoured by flight." This however can scarcely have been said on the occasion to which Xenophon refers it, and is only applicable to the story told by Diodorus, who relates that the Lacedæmonian soothsayer interpreted an accident which happened before the battle as a presage of the admiral's death. His reply would in this case be both rational and magnanimous. But, according to another report, he said that Sparta might repair the loss of a fleet, but he, if he fled, should not be able to retrieve his honour. In this language indeed there would be nothing absurd but the false pride which Cicero condemns.¹ But beside that the anecdote, in this form, is not supported by sufficient authority, it seems clear that Callicratidas entered into the action with fair hopes of a victory; and he might not unreasonably believe that his inferiority in numbers was compensated by the better condition of his vessels and his crews. The Athenian commanders were conscious of their own disadvantage in this respect, and it was on this point that the dispositions made on both sides were

¹ Offic. i. 24.

grounded. The accounts which Xenophon and Diodorus give of the order of battle differ from each other in most particulars¹, but they seem to agree as to the general design of both parties : that the aim of the Peloponnesians was attack, that of the Athenians defence. But Diodorus describes the Athenian line as formed so as to take in one of the islands, which separated it into two divisions : to meet which Callicratidas disposed his fleet in two squadrons parted from each other by a considerable interval. Xenophon represents the Athenians as advancing to a distance from the shore, but formed in a compact mass of two lines in each wing, and only a little weaker in the centre. Aristocrates commanded fifteen galleys in the extreme left; Diomedon was stationed by his side, and Pericles and Erasinides in their rear, each with an equal number. The centre was occupied by ten Samian galleys, under Hippeus a Samian commander, and by as many under the ten Athenian taxiarchs², and they were supported in the rear by a smaller number of Athenian or allied galleys. On the right Protomachus took the lead, with Thrasyllus by his side and Lysias and Aristogenes behind, each having fifteen galleys under his command. The Peloponnesians Xenophon describes as drawn up in a single but unbroken line, to take advantage of their superiority in offensive manœuvres over the unpractised Athenian crews. According to Diodorus, Callicratidas himself commanded in the right of his line, and Thrasondas a Theban in the left. Neither author however gives any intimation as to the effect which these arrangements produced, nor as to the causes which decided the battle, except so far as its issue may have been connected with the fate of the Spartan admiral, who was killed in a conflict with one of the enemy's galleys, according to Diodorus after

¹ It is difficult to understand Schneider, when in his note on Hell. i. 6. 31., he denies, that Xenophon and Diodorus differ on any point in their description of the battle, though, according to his own statement in the same note, there is hardly a single point on which they agree.

² Who however were properly military officers. But of the *ναύαρχοι* who are mentioned on this occasion as three in number, we can find no explanation.

he had sunk that of Lysias—who however survived—and had struck and grappled with that of Pericles. After this event the Peloponnesians were completely routed, and fled some toward Chios some to Phocæa, leaving seventy galleys and upwards destroyed or taken. Among them were nine out of the ten which composed the Lacedæmonian contingent, and were therefore probably under the immediate orders and eye of Callicratidas.

The Athenians lost five and twenty galleys, and almost all at such a distance from the shore that the men who survived had no chance of safety but in clinging to the wrecks. They seem to have spent very little if any time in pursuit of the flying enemy, and the generals, having returned to their station at the Arginusæ, held a council on the course to be next adopted. Diomedon thought that their first care should be to save as many as they could of their own people and of their disabled vessels, and that the whole fleet ought for this purpose to sail immediately to the scene of the action. Erasinides contended that it was of greater importance to proceed directly with the utmost speed to Mitylene, that they might surprise and overpower the enemy's squadron, which was still blockading it. But Thrasyllus suggested, that both these objects might be accomplished, if they detached a squadron sufficient to take care of the wrecks, and sailed with the rest of their forces to Mitylene. This advice was adopted; and it was agreed that each of the generals should detach three of the galleys under his command to accompany twenty-three of those which occupied the centre in the battle, in all forty-seven, to the scene of action. This squadron was to be conducted by some of the inferior officers, among whom were Theramenes and Thrasybulus, while the generals led the rest to Mitylene. Both designs however were frustrated. A violent storm came on, which prevented Theramenes and Thrasybulus from executing the orders they had received, and the generals themselves from moving that day out of the Arginusæ. In the meanwhile Eteonicus received intelligence of the event of the battle by means

of a boat which had been kept in readiness for the purpose. To deceive Conon, he directed the men who brought the news to sail out again in the most private manner, and presently to return to the camp with garlands on their heads, and shouts of joy, announcing that Callicratidas had conquered, and that the whole Athenian armament was destroyed. When it came back, he himself made a public sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory; but he gave orders to the captains of the fleet to sail away as soon as possible to Chios, and advised the merchants who had been attracted to his camp to embark their property as secretly and speedily as they could, and accompany the retreating squadron. The wind favoured their flight. He himself, after setting fire to his camp, led the land force across the island to Methymna. Conon, finding the harbour clear, as soon as the gale had abated, set sail toward the Arginusæ, and met the friendly armament, which after a short stay at Mitylene proceeded to Chios; but being unable to effect anything there it took up the old station at Samos. Conon and two of his colleagues, Protomachus and Aristogenes, remained with it; but the other six, Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides, returned to Athens.

After a victory as complete and important as the Athenian arms had ever gained, which delivered the state from a most pressing danger, when defeat would manifestly have been attended with immediate and utter ruin of all its hopes, they might well have expected an honourable and grateful reception. But causes had been at work during their absence which led to a very different result, and turned their triumph into a calamity, fatal to themselves, and disgraceful to their country. The news of the victory had, as usual, elated the people, and disposed them to listen to the counsellors who most humoured their presumption. They however showed one indication of a right feeling, which was probably the first impression produced by the joyful tidings. They rewarded the slaves who had served in the battle with

immunities similar to those which had been enjoyed by the Plateans, and which placed them very nearly on a level with the citizens. The dejection caused at Sparta by the blow which had deprived her of nearly half her navy, was proportioned to her rival's exultation, and contributed to raise it to an inordinate degree. The party there which viewed the war with feelings like those expressed by Callicratidas, when he was repulsed at the gate of Cyrus, took advantage of the prevailing despondency, to propose another embassy to Athens, to renew the attempt which had failed after the battle of Cyzicus; and envoys were sent with overtures of peace. It seems that they offered no concession beyond the evacuation of Decelea¹ and the Attic territory, and required the Athenians to resign their claims upon their revolted colonies. Cleophon is said again to have come forward as the most active opponent of peaceful counsels; and we find him described, on the authority of Aristotle, as appearing in the assembly highly excited with wine, and in armour², protesting against the terms proposed, and declaring that he would accept nothing short of the restitution of all the cities which had been separated from the Athenian empire. But the particulars of this anecdote, notwithstanding the great name by which they appear to have been sanctioned, are somewhat suspicious, because similar indecency of demeanour and language, which is not likely to have been repeated in its most extravagant circumstances, is imputed to Cleophon on another occasion which will be hereafter mentioned. There is however no reason to doubt that the grounds on which Cleophon contended against the Spartan proposals have been correctly reported. But he probably only expressed the prevailing temper of the people, which nothing but extreme distress and alarm could ever have induced to renounce its dominion over the rebellious subjects whom it had now once more a prospect of reducing to obedience.

¹ Λακεδαιμονίαν βουλευμένην ἐκ Δακίλης ἀπείχει ἵς' αἷ' ἔχουσι ἀμφοτέρω
Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1590

² Μῦθον καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυκός Ibid

It is at least certain that the envoys came — though Xenophon has passed over this as well as the preceding embassy in total silence — and their overtures were rejected.

But in the midst of the general joy there was one ground of regret which affected the best feelings of the people, and was soon perverted into an occasion of unjust suspicion and vehement indignation. It was evident from the despatches of the generals themselves, that a great number of lives had been lost, which under ordinary circumstances of the same kind would have been preserved ; and it did not clearly appear that the loss might not have been prevented by a little more activity or attention. The thought, that hundreds of the brave men who had contributed most to the victory had been suffered to perish through neglect by a miserable death, and had been even deprived of the rites of burial, while their comrades were near at hand, and might have gone to their relief, was of all the most fitted to rouse the popular resentment against the persons who were chargeable with such remissness ; and if the generals did not very distinctly explain their own conduct, it was not unreasonable to presume that they were conscious it would not bear examination. They had, it seems, at first intended to state the whole case in the despatch which they sent home immediately after the action ; but Pericles and Diomedon, to save Theramenes and Thrasylus, and the other officers who had been appointed to visit the wrecks, from all danger of unmerited reproach, prevailed on their colleagues not to mention the commission they had given, but to take the whole responsibility of the unfortunate issue upon themselves. It is possible that this delicate forbearance may have given an appearance of indistinctness and equivocation to their account of the affair, which would minister food for suspicion ; and they had enemies who spared no pains to prejudice the people against them. It seems to have been soon after their arrival at Samos, that they received advice of a decree by which all but Canon were

removed from their office, and two new generals, Adimantus and Philocles, created in their stead. According to Diodorus this decree was passed as the first step toward bringing the deposed generals to trial, for which they were summoned to return to Athens. He also relates that before their recall they defended their own conduct in a letter to the people, in which they mentioned the commission with which they had entrusted Theramenes and Thrasybulus, whom they suspected of being their secret accusers: and that it was this imprudent provocation that made Theramenes their enemy, and led to the decree for their impeachment and recall.¹ But this account can scarcely be reconciled with Xenophon's narrative, which, meager and imperfect as it is, still claims a higher authority. It leads us to suppose that the decree which deposed them was not passed with a view to any specific criminal proceedings which were immediately instituted, but simply as a mark that they had forfeited the confidence of the people.

Protomachus and Aristogenes remained abroad, according to Diodorus, through fear: but it is probable that neither they nor their six colleagues who returned home were aware of their danger. They could not have foreseen the baseness of Theramenes, nor have suspected the plots which were laid for their destruction. Their enemies appear to have proceeded with great caution, carefully feeling their way before they disclosed their designs. The first step was taken by a man named Archdemus, of whom Xenophon in his history gives a very obscure description, which has perhaps come down to us in a mutilated state; but in another work he has left a fuller account of him², which seems to throw some light on the transactions we have now to relate. Archdemus was at this time a popular leader of great influence; but he had risen to this eminence from a

¹ xiii. 101.

² Mem. ii. 9. It is not indeed perhaps absolutely demonstrable that this is the same person as the Archdemus of the Hellenics; but the two descriptions tally so well together that we may, with Schneider, assume their identity.

very low station ; and was commonly believed to have usurped the franchise, to which his birth did not entitle him, by impudence or fraud.¹ His talents had attracted notice before he had found any profitable employment for them ; and they recommended him to Crito, one of the wealthier citizens, and a friend of Socrates, for a service which unhappily was not unfrequently needed at Athens. Crito's opulence and quiet disposition made him a mark for the attacks of sycophants, who took advantage of his aversion for litigation, to extort a price for their silence. It was by the advice of Socrates that, to rid himself of this annoyance, he engaged the assistance of Archedemus, who intimidated his persecutors by turning their own weapons against themselves. He was induced to render the like service to several of Crito's friends ; and thus, while he gradually extended his reputation, and rose in favour with the people, he formed an intimate connection with a circle of persons who were probably all more or less adverse to popular government.² It would seem therefore that Archedemus had two characters to sustain ; and we shall perhaps see reason to believe that the one which he put forward on this occasion served only to disguise that in which he really acted.

Archedemus at this time filled some office, the precise nature of which Xenophon's brevity, or the mutilated state of his text, renders it impossible to ascertain.³ But it was one which gave him some control over the

¹ Aristoph. *Ran.* 419., and according to the Scholiast on this passage he had been before attacked on the same ground by Eupolis in the *Bapta* : so that he must have become conspicuous before the Sicilian expedition. (Compare Vol. III. p. 382. notes 4. and 10.)

² This we may observe is not at all inconsistent with what is said of Crito, *Mem.* i. 2. 48. Many of his friends might be active politicians.

³ *Τῆς Δικηλίας ἐπιμελούμενος.* H. i. 7. 2. This Schneider and others interpret *demarch* of Decelea. The difficulty about this is not — as Schneider seems to think in his *Addenda*, p. 100. — how Archedemus could have held this office while the enemy was master of Decelea, but first why it is here mentioned, and then how it comes to be so described. Schneider's attempt to connect the charge brought by Archedemus against Erasimides with his office of *demarch* altogether misses the mark, as Wolf observes in the *Addenda*, p. 117. Dobree's conjectures (*Adv.* i. p. 125.) *τῆς δικάτης*, or *τῆς γείας*, or *τῆς δεκάτης τῆς λ.*, meet this difficulty, but are extremely uncertain.

generals with reference to their administration of the public money, and it seems that one of them had afforded him a handle for the exercise of his authority. He first laid a fine—which some of the magistrates were able to impose at their discretion by virtue of their office¹—on Erasinides, and then called him to account before a court of justice, on a charge of malversation with respect to some moneys due to the treasury, which had come into his hands while he was commanding in the Hellespont. In the course of this accusation he introduced—it would seem incidentally and by way of aggravation—some other charges, relative to the general's conduct in his office; and among these the cruel negligence which he and his colleagues were said to have displayed after the battle of Arginusæ, was no doubt the main topic. The immediate result of the trial was that Erasinides was committed to prison; whether by way of punishment, or only that he might be brought before another tribunal, and on what ground, Xenophon does not inform us. But it is clear that the success of Archedemus against him was the signal for a preconcerted attack on the rest, and that his impeachment had been purposely made to precede the regular account which they were to give of their administration before the Council of Five Hundred. It is not certain whether in this oral report they went beyond the contents of their first despatch, and mentioned the instructions which they had given to Theramenes and Thrasybulus. Their statement did not satisfy the council; and Timocrates, one of its members, moved that they should all be taken into custody, and subjected to the judgment of the people. An assembly was soon after held to consider their case; and Theramenes now appeared foremost among their accusers. He insisted chiefly on their own despatch, by which, as they did not pretend to charge any one else with neglect of duty, they had admitted that they alone were answerable for the fate of the wrecks. Yet he appears not to have denied the commission he

¹ Ἐπιτολή. As demarch he could not have done this.

received, or that the violence of the storm rendered its execution impracticable; what ground was left after this admission for his accusation is a point which it would have been desirable to understand, but on which the historian is silent.¹ The generals were present, and were allowed to speak; but it seems that they had not received notice of the charge which they were to meet², and came with no other preparation than the consciousness of their innocence, and the testimony which they were able to offer. Each made a short defence, which consisted chiefly in a simple narrative of all that had passed after the battle; and they now—perhaps for the first time—pleaded, that if there was any blame to be attached to any one, it could fall only on Theramenes himself, and the other commanders of the squadron which they had ordered to look after the wrecks, while they themselves went to seek the enemy. But at the same time they frankly acknowledged that they imputed no fault to any of their officers: since the state of the weather had prevented them, no less than themselves, from proceeding toward their destination: and in proof of this fact they were ready to call a multitude of witnesses³, masters of galleys, and other competent judges. This statement produced its natural effect on the majority of the audience, and they would probably have been at once finally acquitted, if the lateness of the hour had not rendered it impossible to take the votes of the assembly; for there was not light sufficient for counting the show of hands. But many rose to offer themselves as sureties for the prisoners; and a motion was made that the assembly should be adjourned, and that at its next sitting the council should bring in a

¹ It is only from the language which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Theramenes just before his death, that we learn that he admitted the commission and pleaded his inability to execute it. It is difficult to believe that this account of his own statements was totally false; yet there seems to be a direct contradiction between the plea which he here attributes to the generals (ii. 3. 35. *φάσκοντες εἶναι τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας*), and that which they really used according to Xenophon's own narrative, i. 7. 6. It looks as if Xenophon had purposely involved the transaction in the greatest possible obscurity.

² Οὐ προῦνθ' ὅτι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

³ Μαρτυρὰς παρελχόντα. So Diodor. xiii. 101.

proposition for regulating the form in which the generals should be tried. This seemingly innocent proposal was carried; apparently without any suspicion of its consequences, which clearly show the intention with which it was made.

In the interval between this and the next meeting of the assembly Theramenes and the other enemies of the accused set all their engines at work to revive and inflame the popular prejudices which their manly and candid defence had nearly extinguished. The day appointed for the adjourned deliberation fell, through chance or design, in the festival of the *Apaturia*, which was chiefly consecrated to the maintenance of the ancient ties, by which the citizens of the purest blood were united as members of one family within the smaller circles, which, according to the spirit of the early Attic institutions, included all the children of the state. On the last of the three days of the festival¹, the members of the *phratries* and of the houses² met to register the children born within the year and the youths who were entitled to admission. This seems to have been the day on which the assembly was held; and Theramenes hired a great number of persons to attend it, dressed in black, and with their heads shaved, as mourning for kinsmen whom they had lost in the sea-fight. He no doubt expected that the impression produced by their appearance would be strengthened by the religious and domestic character of the festival, and that both would supply the orators of his party with topics for much moving declamation. In the council a man named *Callixenus* was induced to come forward as the accuser of the generals, and to move a proposition for a decree, which was adopted by the council and was brought in to the assembly. It assumed in its preamble that the cause had already been fully heard in the previous assembly, and that nothing remained to be done but to pronounce the verdict, and to determine the sentence; and it directed that all Athenians should vote on the simple

¹ The day called *νεμεσιδίας*.

² *ἡ κοινὴ καὶ ἡ οἰκία*.

question, whether the generals had done wrong in not taking up their men who had been left in the water after the battle: two urns were to be set for each tribe, to receive the ballots of acquittal or condemnation—this was perhaps the most expeditious mode of collecting votes;—if the defendants were found guilty, they were to be put to death, their property to be confiscated, and a tenth consecrated to the goddess of Athens.

This proposition was plainly contrary both to law and justice. The prisoners had not had a legal trial, or a fair hearing: it is probable that none of the witnesses whom they offered to produce on the former occasion had been examined. Their cases were also confounded together, though it was possible that, if some were guilty, others might be innocent. Their friends, among whom Eurypolemus the cousin of Alcibiades was the most zealous and active, protested against the proposition, and declared their intention of prosecuting Callixenus as its author.¹ They were applauded by a part of the assembly; but the majority was not in a mood to listen to what perhaps appeared rather technical objections, than pleas which touched the merits of the case. Their passions were heated by the appeals which were made to their feelings on behalf of the sufferers and their afflicted relatives. A man was brought forward who pretended that he had been preserved by clinging to a meal-tub, and that his comrades, whom he saw sinking near him, had charged him, if he survived, to tell the Athenians, that their generals had left the brave defenders of their country to perish. A loud outcry was raised against Eurypolemus: “it was strange if the people was to be prevented from doing as it would;” and one Lyciscus moved that the persons who now attempted to controul the assembly, if they did not withdraw their opposition, should be subjected to the same process, which was to decide the fate of the generals. The clamour and threats of the multitude overpowered Eurypolemus, and he was constrained to

¹ Τον Καλλιζήνον ποσειχάσαντες.

renounce the design of prosecuting Callixenus.¹ But a new impediment arose on the part of the presiding Prytanes, who refused to put the illegal proposition to the votes. Yet their courage also at length gave way before the invectives of Callixenus, seconded by the shouts of the people, who demanded that the magistrates who resisted their pleasure should be brought to trial.² One man only, Epistates, remained unshaken, declaring that he would only act as the law permitted. That man was Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus.

All that Euryptolemus could now attempt was to divert the assembly, by argument and remonstrance, from adopting the proposed decree; and he made a speech which from Xenophon's report appears to have been very dexterously adapted to his purpose. He came forward, he said, not merely to defend, but also in one particular to censure the two persons among the accused in whose behalf he was most deeply interested—his kinsman Pericles, and his friend Diomedon. But his chief object was to give such advice as he thought most important for the public good. He admitted that Pericles and Diomedon had been guilty of culpable imprudence, in preventing their colleagues from stating the whole truth in their first despatch, which would have convinced every one that, if blame rested anywhere, it could be only with Theramenes and the other persons who now accused them; and they had thus involved their colleagues and themselves in one common danger. Yet he trusted that their indiscretion would not throw them into the hands of the malignant and ungrateful men who were now conspiring to destroy them, or blind the people to the clearest principles of law and equity. The course which he had to propose would satisfy the claims of the most rigid justice, would enable them to detect the real culprits, and to punish them with all the severity they could desire, and would save them from the remorse which they would suffer if they should be hurried into an act of injustice which would be equally injurious to

¹ Ἀφίειναι τὰς κλήσεις.

² Καλῶν τῶν ἐν ζῆσιν.

themselves and offensive to the gods. All that he required for the accused was a fair hearing—he would be content if but a single day was allowed for that purpose—and he was willing that their trial should be conducted according to the most rigorous form of proceeding which any law prescribed. There was a decree, known by the name of its author Cannonus, which directed that any one charged with treason, under its most general description of wrong done to the people¹, should be tried by the popular assembly, and held in fetters even while pleading his cause²; that, if convicted, he should be put to death, and deprived of burial; his property confiscated, and a tenth dedicated to the goddess. To this severe process he was ready to subject his friends, and Pericles the first. Or, if the people preferred it, he was willing that they should be tried by one of the ordinary tribunals under the law against the most heinous cases of treason and sacrilege³, which also deprived the convicted criminal, after his execution, of the rites of burial in Attica, and gave all his property to the state. In either case he only asked that a day should be granted for the separate trial of each prisoner, to be divided into three equal portions, for the accusation, the defence, and the judgment. This was surely not too great a favour for men who had gained so glorious and important a victory; nor was there any room to fear that justice might be frustrated by the delay; for it would be as much in their power to condemn or acquit whom they would, if each was tried by himself, according to law, as if, according to the illegal proposition of Callixenus, one vote was to be passed upon all. But a precipitate sentence might prove a source of bitter and unavailing regret. He then entered into a discussion of the facts of the case, and observed that one

¹ *Εάν τις τὸν δῆμον ἀδικῇ.*

² *Δεδειμμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δῷ δῆμον*: and, according to the Scholiast of Aristoph. *Eccles.* 1089, *κατηγορούμενον ἐκατέρωθεν*, which is ingeniously explained by Hudtwaleker *Diat.* p. 96. Schneider seems entirely to have mistaken the object of the decree of Cannonus, on which the reader may find some remarks in the Appendix.

³ *Εάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδοῖω, ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλείπτῃ.*

of the generals—it was Lysias—who was now charged with neglecting his duty toward his sinking comrades, had been himself rescued from a watery grave. He finally conjured the people to avoid the reproach of ingratitude and impiety, which they would incur, if, instead of submitting to the calamity which had been sent by the gods, they imputed it as a crime to their victorious generals; and, instead of honouring and rewarding them, inflicted on them the severest punishment which they could have suffered if they had disgraced or betrayed their country.

It is much to be regretted that Xenophon did not think proper to give some specimen of the arguments which were used on the other side; particularly as the fact mentioned with respect to Lysias suggests a question whether the generals were not really all in some degree culpable in having neglected to take the earliest opportunity, after the battle was decided, of saving as many lives as they could. For it does not appear from Xenophon's narrative that there was not time for this before the storm came on. We do not know whether this point was discussed, nor any of the grounds on which Callixenus defended his motion. Xenophon confines himself to the most naked abstract that could be given of the subsequent proceedings. Euryptolemus moved that the prisoners should be brought to trial under the decree of Cannonus, but each separately; and this motion was carried, probably by a very small majority. For immediately after, one Meneclæus having raised some legal objection to the decree proposed by Euryptolemus¹, the question between this and the proposition of the council was again put²; and now the majority proved in favour of the latter. After this it seems that the votes of the assembly were immediately collected, in the manner prescribed by the council, on

¹ Ὑπομνήσις. According to Hudtwalcker, p. 96, it was a protest upon oath which had the effect of suspending the force of the decree until the question of its legality had been decided.

² Πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γυναιμένης. Yet the connection between this proceeding and the ὑπομνήσις is not evident.

the general issue. The eight victorious generals were all condemned to death, and the six who were present were executed.

There is no passage in Xenophon's Greek history, where we have so much reason to lament that he did not write a little more in the spirit of Thucydides, and consult the interest of posterity, instead of making it his chief care to avoid giving offence to his contemporaries, especially to his Spartan patrons. That he could have thrown, if not the fullest, at least a much clearer light on these transactions, it is scarcely possible to doubt. He has left them for the most part mysterious and unintelligible; has neither pointed out the connection of the facts which he relates, nor gives the slightest hint as to the motives of the parties. We cannot however pass over so remarkable an event without endeavouring to form a more distinct notion of its nature and causes; and there are a few important points on which, notwithstanding Xenophon's silence, it seems still in our power to arrive at least at a probable conclusion.

The first impression made by his narrative is one quite as much of surprise as of indignation. It looks as if the bulk of the people had been in a conspiracy to murder some of their most deserving fellow-citizens who were entitled to their warmest gratitude, without either a decent pretext or an assignable motive. This however is too much at variance with human nature to be believed. A large part at least of the assembly which condemned the generals to death, must have been persuaded that the sentence was just; and it does not seem difficult to explain how they might be so far deceived. The accusation of Theramenes and his brother officers—for it seems that some of them joined in it—must have appeared of itself the strongest of all testimonies against their late commanders: and the only objection which could have diminished its weight was removed by the generals themselves. As they had said nothing to implicate Theramenes, until they found

themselves in danger, and even then exculpated him no less than themselves, he could scarcely be suspected of calumniating them for the purpose of securing himself: and since no one could be better informed as to all the circumstances of the case, his judgment might seem to many completely decisive. It was perhaps the force of this evidence that reconciled the consciences of the majority in the last assembly to that breach of legal forms of which Euryptolemus complained. It was perhaps said by some, and thought by many, that the prisoners had enjoyed the benefit of a trial before the assembly, such as Euryptolemus desired for them: that the merits of the case were well understood, and that the defence they had set up was not sufficient. And indeed we do not find that Euryptolemus either suggested any new plea, or intimated any ground for distinguishing one case from another. The absent generals were probably thought to have incurred the penalty of contumacy. The excitement produced by the artifices of Theramenes will account for the eagerness with which those who believed the prisoners guilty of sacrificing a great number of valuable lives, exacted what they considered as no more than a just vengeance. We see however from the fluctuation of the majority that opinions were pretty evenly divided. Those who voted for the generals were perhaps more judicious, more circumspect, more scrupulous, but possibly not more honest or more humane than those who condemned them. Nor in this case was it a gross measure of popular credulity that Theramenes abused; he took advantage of the uncommon forbearance and candour of his victims, and of his own reputation which had never before been stained by any atrocious crime, to effect their destruction.

What were the motives which impelled Theramenes to such enormous wickedness, is a question on which we can only form conjectures; it is probable that he was instigated by more passions than one. He himself, when he was reproached for his conduct in this affair on a subsequent occasion, is represented by Xenophon as al-

leging in excuse, that the generals were the aggressors, and by endeavouring to shift the blame upon him, compelled him to attack them in self-defence. But this apology, miserable as it is, is not consistent with Xenophon's narrative. Nevertheless it is not improbable that regard for his own safety, which was most effectually secured when the popular resentment was directed against other persons, may have had a considerable share in determining his course; as, if he had any coadjutors among his brother officers, it must have been by a like motive that they were chiefly swayed. But on the other hand it seems evident that Theramenes had other, and probably more powerful inducements, of a different kind. We see that he acted in concert with a number of persons who had no such apprehensions to stimulate them. It can scarcely be doubted that the ruin of the generals had been planned, before he and they returned to Athens, and that the decree by which they were recalled was the first step taken toward this end; and Euryptolemus, in his speech, asserts the existence of a conspiracy, in which Theramenes took a part. Whether he was drawn into it by fear, or by other motives, must depend on its nature and objects, which, as we know nothing directly of his confederates, can only be inferred from the character of the persons against whom it was directed. Among the accused generals all, of whom we know anything—Pericles, Diomedon, Thrasyllus—were more or less intimately connected with Alcibiades. Aristocrates was at least the mortal enemy of the faction which hated and feared him. This defeated, but active, and implacable, faction had most probably procured the decree which removed him from office; and if it permitted so many of his friends to succeed him, it was perhaps in the hope of finding a like opportunity of getting rid of them also. Their victory, which would in the ordinary course of things have rendered them formidable opponents, roused it to exert its utmost efforts for their overthrow. Theramenes, though he had once deserted this party, was now capable of becoming a very useful auxi-

liary, and as its chiefs—with whom alone he had quarrelled—had been removed, he was not unwilling to coalesce with it again. His ambition had been as little satisfied since the last revolution, as it had been under the government of the Four Hundred. And in fact we find him henceforth constantly in league with the oligarchical faction. Farther than this we cannot safely go in determining either his motives or those of his associates, and must leave it doubtful whether they had already formed the design of depriving the commonwealth of its best commanders, in order the more easily to betray it into the enemy's hands. This was no doubt the ultimate object of many among them; but perhaps it had not yet entered the mind of Theramenes.

We have already seen that Archedemus, notwithstanding his apparent zeal for the popular interest, may have been in the pay of the oligarchical party. That Callixenus, and the other orators who took the lead in the proceedings against the generals, were its instruments, is rendered nearly certain by the sequel of their history. On the other hand Cleophon, who uniformly opposed it, and in the end became the victim of its animosity, notwithstanding his popularity, does not appear to have taken any part in these transactions. It is also clear that it must have secured the ascendancy in the council of this year, as we shall find it did in that of the next; and though it could not command a majority in the assembly, yet the noisiest advocates of the most violent measures were probably its retainers.

But here we are led to consider another interesting question; whether the scenes which have just been described took place under that form of government on which Thucydides pronounced a high eulogy, or the old democracy had been previously restored with all its abuses. It is certainly somewhat strange that, in a part of Athenian history on which we have so much information, there should still be room for doubt on a subject of such a nature; and yet it is one on which we cannot advance beyond a probable opinion. Thucydides, though

he distinctly intimates that the state of things which he applauds was not of long duration, does not inform us whether it was terminated by a new change in the constitution, which took off the restrictions imposed on the exercise of the franchise, or by the operation of other causes. Xenophon is altogether silent as to any change either in the form or the spirit of the Athenian government in the interval between the overthrow of the Four Hundred, and the end of the war. It is true that the silence of such a writer cannot disprove the existence of any fact which it would have been his duty, as a conscientious historian, to have mentioned ; but still it raises a presumption which can only be repelled by positive evidence. It has been thought that the influence of Cleophon, through which the Athenians were led to reject the proposals of peace after the battle of Cyzicus, could not have been established, until a change had taken place in the constitution of 410. On the other hand it may seem improbable that such a change should have been effected or attempted so long as Alcibiades, who had openly declared himself against the ancient form of the democracy, retained his ascendancy. After his fall indeed we know of no external obstacle that opposed the restoration of the ancient state of things. But the condition of the finances must then have appeared a strong objection against resuming the payments for attendance in the assembly and the courts of justice, without which the enlargement of the franchise might not have been so much coveted, nor have produced very important results. The delusion under which the assembly was hurried on to the condemnation of the generals, was one, so far as we can collect its nature, which does not imply the predominance of the lower classes ; and the decision of the council, which probably raised a strong prejudice against them, was likely to have greater weight with the citizens of the higher order. So far the arguments on the opposite sides of the question nearly balance each other. There are however some others which incline us to believe that

the old democracy had been completely restored before the return of Alcibiades.¹

That well-tempered polity which Thucydides praises had been adopted only as a measure of precaution, when it was believed that the invisible Five Thousand really existed, and might resist the extinction of their exclusive privileges. But the natural tendency of events, after the overthrow of the Four Hundred, was toward the re-establishment of the constitution which they had subverted. If, according to the professed intentions of the oligarchs, a body of Five Thousand citizens had been invested with a permanent authority, it would probably have clung very tenaciously to the institutions from which it derived its power. But a franchise which was shared by all the citizens who were able to serve in the heavy infantry, but was only to be exercised by 5000 of them at a time, might seem a distinction hardly worth contending for. On the other hand those who felt themselves deprived of their ancient rights for no offence but their poverty, were no doubt eager to recover them, and were probably encouraged to resume them, not only by demagogues like Cleophon, but by the secret adherents of the oligarchical faction, who in the good government which promised prosperity to the state, saw an insurmountable bar to their selfish hopes. The *polity* was perhaps already abolished before the epoch at which Xenophon's history begins. It does not follow that the imprecation, which prohibited the receiving of pay for any civil office, was so soon taken off. This was perhaps a later measure, adopted after the successes of Alcibiades had restored confidence, and recruited the public revenues. If we might rely on an assertion of Æschines², that Cleophon had corrupted the people by a distribution of money, we could scarcely doubt, that it referred to this revival of the ancient abuses. Alcibiades, whatever may have been his wishes, would not have risked his popularity for the sake of enforcing economy; and he

¹ On this and other questions discussed in the preceding pages, see Sievers, *De Xenophontis Hellenicis*.

² De F. L. p. 406. Bek.

may have thought that his influence was likely to gain by the restoration of the democracy, which might be considered as his work. We hardly know whether any stress may be laid on the terms of the decree proposed by Callixenus, that *all* the Athenians should vote on the trial of the generals, as an indication that the franchise was no longer subject to any restrictions.

The issue of these proceedings is likewise involved in an obscurity which the contemporary historian did not wish to clear up. The truth soon after penetrated through the tissue of calumnies with which the enemies of the unfortunate generals had intercepted it; and the indignation of the people was roused against the men who had practised on its credulity. We would willingly believe that the detection of their villany was principally owing to Thrasybulus, who was one of the persons most capable of making known the real state of the case, and of gaining credit for the truth. But Xenophon has contrived to mention his name in such a manner, as to leave it doubtful, whether he did not abet the conspiracy against the generals. Diodorus indeed expressly charges him with having been the accomplice of Theramenes; but his afterlife renders it probable that he was at least clear of this guilt, even if he did not take the earliest opportunity of proclaiming the innocence of his commanders. When it was ascertained, a decree was passed directing proceedings to be instituted against those who had deceived the people, and that they should give sureties for their appearance at the trial; and among them Callixenus was expressly mentioned. He and four others were accordingly impeached, and were kept in custody by their sureties. But it seems that they had friends, who enabled them both to evade a trial, and finally to make their escape. Theramenes was still more fortunate or skilful. He not only avoided a legal prosecution, but retained his place in popular favour; though it might have been supposed that, as he had been foremost among the accusers of the innocent, he would have been the first mark for the public resentment.

While these scenes were passing at home the Athenian fleet rode the sea without a rival. The remains of the Peloponnesian navy—a shattered dismembered body without a head—were confined to the ports in which they had taken refuge. Not long after the battle of Arginusæ Eteonicus found means of rejoining the forces at Chios, where he stayed with them during the autumn and the following winter. Neither succours nor supplies came from Greece, and he had no funds for paying or maintaining the troops. Till the end of the vintage however they made a shift to subsist, partly on the wages which were to be earned by field labour, and partly on the hospitality of the islanders, who permitted them freely to enjoy the fruits of the season. But when the winter came on, and these resources failed, they found themselves not only without food but in want of new clothing, and they knew that their commander was unable to supply them with either. The expedient which occurred to them in this emergency was one which may have been suggested to them by numerous examples of less excusable treachery, some of which we have already had occasion to mention. They resolved to make themselves masters of Chios. The plot seems to have been first formed by a small number, which was gradually augmented by fresh conspirators until they became a formidable body; and it was agreed that for the purpose of mutual recognition each should carry a reed. But before their plans were matured Eteonicus discovered their design, and being at the same time apprised of the concerted symbol, was enabled to estimate the magnitude of the danger. It was a crisis which called for great energy and address. An attempt to suppress the conspiracy by violence would have been likely to alarm and irritate all the accomplices, and might have induced them immediately to fly to arms and to accomplish their purpose. But even if it was crushed by such means, this display of severity would not only cost many useful lives¹, but would probably disgust

¹ Τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους ξυμμάχους πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἐχθρούς.
We should have thought it unnecessary to observe, that those allies are

the surviving comrades of the delinquents, and might deter the other Greeks from a service in which it might be said men were put to death because they would not be starved. Eteonicus devised a more politic course for attaining his end. He set out accompanied by a band of fifteen men armed with daggers, and as he passed through the town, killed the first man he met with carrying the reed, who happened to be suffering from ophthalmia and had just come out of a surgeon's house. This made the deed the more remarkable; and his followers were instructed to inform the curious, that the man had been killed for carrying a reed. This report had no sooner spread, than the conspirators all threw away their tokens. Eteonicus now assembled the Chians, acquainted them with the danger they had just escaped, and exhorted them to relieve the wants of his men, and secure their own lives and property by a voluntary subsidy. The Chians supplied him with a sum of money which enabled him to give a month's pay to the fleet; and he took the opportunity of cheering the men with language which made them believe that he was totally ignorant of the plot he had stifled.

This adventure served as a warning both to the Chians and to the other allies of Sparta on the Asiatic coast, and roused them to take precautions against the recurrence of such dangers and exactions. A congress was held at Ephesus, at which it was resolved to send envoys to Sparta, with a request that Lysander might be appointed to the command of the navy. Cyrus also sent an embassy to second this application, which, though it was probably suggested by Lysander's personal adherents, marks the confidence which he had inspired, chiefly, Xenophon conceives, by his success at Notium. The law of Sparta did not permit the same person to hold the office of Admiral twice; but an expedient was devised for reconciling the law with the wishes of the allies.

not the Chians, but the conspirators, if this mistake had not been made the ground of a misplaced remark on Greek morality.

The title of Admiral was conferred on Aracus ; but Lysander was sent out with him, in an inferior rank, but invested by the secret orders of the government with the substance of supreme authority.

In the spring, or early in the summer of 405, Lysander arrived at Ephesus with a squadron of thirty-five galleys which he had collected from the European allies, and immediately sent to assemble those which were lying at Chios and in other ports, and while these were refitting, he directed new ones to be built at Antandrus. To defray the expense he was obliged to resort to the treasury at Sardis. Cyrus complained that he had already spent more than the sum which his father had assigned for the purposes of the war, but he nevertheless furnished a fresh supply, which enabled Lysander, on his return to Ephesus, to put all his ships into good condition, and to pay the arrears due to the seamen. He was still busied with his preparations, when he was recalled to Sardis by a message from Cyrus, to receive an extraordinary mark of the prince's favour and confidence. In the course of the preceding year Cyrus had given a public indication of his aspiring temper ; whether in the heat of passion or upon a deliberate calculation of the effects it would produce, we cannot determine. He had put to death two princes of the blood royal, named Autobæaces and Mitræus, sons of the king's sister, merely because they did not in his presence observe a ceremony which by the Persian usage was due to none but the king. In the royal presence a custom, apparently founded on suspicion, compelled every one to show his hands through the long sleeves which formed part of the Persian dress. Cyrus, it appears, claimed the same kind of homage, and arrogated to himself the still higher prerogative of capitally punishing his cousins because they refused or neglected it. Their parents¹ complained to Darius, and endeavoured to awaken his jealousy against this arrogant encroachment on the majesty of the throne. The king, perhaps foreseeing the evils which might arise

¹ Probably the Hieramenes and his wife mentioned Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 2.

from the ambitious spirit of Cyrus, unless it was laid under timely restraint, determined to call him to court; and the state of his own health furnished him with a pretext, and suggested an additional motive.¹ On receiving this summons, Cyrus sent for Lysander; and having acquainted him with the cause which called him away from his government, desired him not to risk a battle unless his forces should be greatly superior to those of the enemy. But he bad him spare no expense to ensure this superiority; for either in the royal treasury, or in the prince's private coffers, he would find unfailing resources; and he not only placed a sum of ready money in his hands, but assigned the revenues which he drew for his private use from the cities under his government, for the prosecution of the war during his absence. It seems that he also held out hopes, that on his return from court he would bring with him a Phœnician armament, powerful enough to overwhelm the Athenians. Then, having endeavoured to impress Lysander with a due sense of the obligations he had conferred on him and his country, he dismissed him, and set out for the borders of Media, where Darius, who had made an expedition in person against a neighbouring tribe of independent barbarians, the Cadusians, was said to be lying sick. He took with him a bodyguard of 300 Greek mercenaries, and under colour of a distinguishing favour, forced Tissaphernes to accompany him, fearing perhaps to leave him behind, and not aware that he might prove a dangerous companion.

Lysander being thus left with the amplest means which Cyrus could furnish at his absolute disposal, and invested with a portion at least of viceregal authority over many cities and districts near the theatre of war, proceeded to act on the offensive, not however forgetting the patience and caution recommended by Cyrus, which were indeed among the prominent features of his character. He sailed — it would appear so as to avoid a collision with

¹ This seems to be the easiest method of reconciling the different accounts (*Hell.* ii. l. 9. 13. and *Anab.* i. l. 1.), if, as is most probable, they refer to the same journey.

the Athenian fleet — to the south coast of Caria. On his passage he touched at Miletus, which was perhaps the principal object of his expedition. During his absence his oligarchical partizans had entered into a compromise with their political opponents, which some at least among them seem to have been willing to observe. But Lysander, though he outwardly affected to approve of their reconciliation, secretly endeavoured by remonstrance and encouragement to instigate his friends to break the truce, and fall upon their unsuspecting adversaries. His persuasions prevailed, and he appeared with his armament before the town in the critical juncture of the oligarchical insurrection. His presence inspired the assailed party with terror, it abandoned all thoughts of resistance, and prepared for flight. He however assumed the mask of a mediator, checked the violence of the aggressors with stern rebukes and threats, and cheered the weaker side with assurances of protection. Many were decoyed by this artifice and induced to remain in the power of their enemies, who, when dissimulation could no longer be of use, put them all to death, or according to another statement selected 300 of the chief men for a massacre. The more wary, who made their escape, found a hospitable asylum at the palace of Pharnabazus, who furnished them with money, and settled them in a town on the southern borders of his satrapy.¹ After having thus made Miletus his own, Lysander continued his voyage to the Ceramic gulf, where a town named Cedreæ, inhabited by a race mixed of Greeks and barbarians, maintained its alliance with Athens. This seems to have been the whole offence for which he exterminated the men, and consigned the women and children to slavery. Then, after touching at Rhodes, he shaped his course toward the Saronic gulf. His motive for this step, seems to have been not so much the hope of any substantial ad-

¹ Plutarch, *Lys.* 8., and Diodorus, xiii. 104., vary from each other in several circumstances of this transaction, which Xenophon omits altogether; a silence, the motives of which may be easily conceived. It is with the help of Diodorus that we have fixed the epoch to which we have assigned it.

vantage, as partly the desire of avoiding the Athenians stationed at Samos, and partly that of raising his own reputation by the appearance of commanding the sea even within view of the enemy's shores. He made descents on Ægina and Salamis, and on the coast of Attica itself, where he received a visit from Agis which enabled him to exhibit his apparent triumph in the sight of the Peloponnesian garrison of Decelea. But this display only lasted until information of his movements reached the Athenian fleet at Samos, and when he learnt that it was in pursuit of him, he made with all speed for the Asiatic coast.¹

We are not informed of the effect which this unexpected inroad produced at Athens: Xenophon indeed has not thought it worth noticing, but it seems not improbable that it may have been connected with the appointment of three new generals, Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus, who were now associated in command with Conon, Philocles, and Adimantus, and with some other proceedings which indicate an unusual excitement of the public mind. For it was probably on this occasion that a decree was passed, according to Plutarch's authority, on the motion of Philocles — who may have landed for a short time at Athens when he found that the enemy had disappeared, and perhaps was anxious to make up for the want of vigilance which might be imputed to his colleagues and himself by an ostentation of extraordinary zeal — for mutilating the prisoners who should be taken in the sea-fight which it was now resolved should be given on the earliest opportunity. This barbarous policy seems to have been designed to counteract the attraction of the Persian gold among the Greeks who had once helped to man the Athenian fleets, and was perhaps regarded as a just punishment of their desertion; and it

¹ Here again we have not thought Xenophon's silence as to these movements of Lysander a sufficient ground for rejecting the accounts of Plutarch, *Lys* 9., and Diodorus, *xiii.* 104., though we cannot altogether exclude a suspicion that they may have arisen from a mistake, by which the operations of Lysander, after the battle of Ægos-potami, were referred to a wrong time. Some of the difficulties connected with this question will be presently considered.

may have been copied from a similar measure which is said to have been adopted in earlier times against the Æginetans¹, though Xenophon describes the later decree as directing that the prisoners should lose their right hands, while the earlier one is reported to have been confined to the amputation of the right thumb.² Adimantus alone is said to have opposed the decree, which might seem to imply that it was passed at the same period that he and Philocles were appointed to their office, if Xenophon did not also state that it was proposed in contemplation of an approaching battle.³ Philocles exercised his command in an equally merciless spirit. He ordered the crews of an Andrian and a Corinthian vessel which he captured to be thrown down a cliff. We may hope, notwithstanding Xenophon's ambiguous language, that Conon's character was not

¹ Cicero Offic. 'iii. 11. Ælian V. H. ii. 9. Where Perizonius confounds the archon Philocles of B. C. 450 with Conon's colleague. There is no reason whatever for referring the decree against the Æginetans to the archonship of Philocles. Plutarch describes the purpose of the later decree in nearly the same terms which Ælian uses with regard to the earlier one — ὅπως δόρυ μὲν θίγειν μὴ δύνανται, κώτην δ' ἐλαύνειν — a purpose which it is equally difficult to understand in either case, whether with regard to the Peioponnesian seamen, or the Æginetans, of whom Cicero remarks: "Athenienses sciverunt, ut Æginetis, qui classe valebant, pollices præciderentur."

² Schneider proposes to reconcile Xenophon with Plutarch, who only mentions the amputation of the right thumb, by correcting Xenophon's text, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τοὺς δεξιὸν ἀντιχειῖρα. But it would not be at all surprising that Plutarch should have confounded the later with the earlier decree, nor that the later measure should have been more inhuman in order to be more effectual. Schneider says nothing of the χειρὶν in '32.

³ Xenophon first mentions the preparations made by the Athenians for another sea-fight precisely at the epoch which suits the supposition, that they were the result of Lysander's appearance on the coast of Attica; that is, as falling in the interval between the storming of Cedeæ, and his voyage to the Hellespont. At the time of the election of Philocles there was no prospect of a fresh sea-fight. It seems therefore quite clear that the epoch assigned in the text for the decree about the mutilation is the earliest at which it can be fixed. But a question may arise, whether it does not belong to a later date, and whether the ἐκκλησία mentioned by Xenophon (Hell. ii. 1. 31.), though he does not hint that it was an extraordinary one, or in the nature of a council of war, was not an assembly held at Ægospotami just before the battle. Plutarch indeed supposes it to have been held at Athens, as appears from his expression, Lys. 9. τίσας τοὺς δῆμον. But on such a point his authority is of no weight; and on the other hand it may be urged, that the reason given for sparing Adimantus (Xen. Hell. ii. 1. 32.) would be inapplicable, unless it was known that all the other prisoners were present at the passing of the decree which he alone opposed. Perhaps the strongest ground for acquiescing in Plutarch's statement is, that if the decree was passed at Ægospotami, Conon would seem to have sanctioned it — unless Xenophon's μωροὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς was meant to be confined to the prisoners.

stained by even a tacit sanction of any of these atrocious proceedings.

Lysander eluded the pursuit of the Athenians, and got the start of them on his way toward the Hellespont¹, which he found quite unguarded, and, on his arrival at Abydos, he ordered all the troops he could collect there to march, under the command of Thorax, against Lampsacus, while he sailed to attack it on the sea-side. It was taken by storm, and given up to pillage; but Lysander set all the citizens at liberty. The fall of this opulent city had only just taken place, when the Athenians, who had been chasing Lysander at full speed, entered the Hellespont with 180 galleys, and anchored at Elæus, from whence, finding that Lampsacus was lost, they moved on to Sestus, and, only stopping there for provisions, proceeded to a place nearly two miles farther to the north, called Ægos-potami, facing Lampsacus, where the Peloponnesian fleet was still lying, at about two miles distance; for such was here the width of the channel. The next morning at daybreak Lysander ordered his men to embark, after having taken their first meal, and made all his dispositions for a sea-fight, but gave orders that no ship should stir from its place. The Athenians at sunrise sailed up toward the harbour of Lampsacus to offer battle, but did not venture to attack the enemy, whom they saw fully prepared to receive them, and sheltered under the town, and after waiting till the afternoon they returned to Ægos-potami. Lysander directed some of his fastest galleys to follow them, and observe their proceedings after their landing, and it was not until he had received the report of his officers that he allowed his own men to go ashore. The Athenians when they landed at Ægos-potami, which was a mere open beach, without any habitations, pro-

¹ This is perfectly intelligible, if the Athenian fleet be supposed to have followed Lysander to Attica, and then to the Hellespont. But in Xenophon's narrative we can hardly account for it; and it is difficult to reconcile the reason assigned for sailing toward Chios at a distance from the shore (πελάγους): that Asia was hostile to them; with the fact just before mentioned, that on their passage from Samos to Chios they ravaged the King's territory.

ceeded at their leisure—supposing their day's work at an end—to Sestus, the nearest market, or as chance might lead them in search of provisions.

The next day Lysander gave the same orders, made the same dispositions, and remained stationary as before, while the Athenians, seeing their challenge again declined, grew more careless of the enemy, and wandered farther up the country in quest of victuals. Their movements were not only watched by Lysander's scouts, but were observed by a friendly eye which could discern their danger. The fortified domain of Alcibiades was so near this part of the coast, that he could perceive all that took place there from the top of his towers. Struck with the perilous position and false security of his countrymen, he came down to the sea-side to point out to the generals the error they were committing, and to advise them to transfer their camp to Sestus, where they would enjoy the same advantages which the enemy, in his station at Lampsacus, derived from the shelter of the harbour and a friendly city. According to the authors followed by Diodorus and Plutarch, he accompanied his advice with an offer of engaging a body of Thracians in their service, from the dominions of the two princes who had now succeeded to the remains of the great Odrysian monarchy, and were his friends; but in return required to be admitted to a share of the command. But it is scarcely credible that he could have made such offers, and proposed such conditions, since even his advice was contemptuously rejected, especially by Tydeus and Menander, who bad him depart and remember that they were generals now, not he. The difference indeed soon became manifest. The operations of the first day were repeated during the three next, without any variation; but on the fifth Lysander ordered the galleys which followed the Athenians toward the opposite shore, as soon as they should have landed and be scattered over the country, to return, and in the middle of the channel to hoist a shield. When

the signal was raised, he ordered the whole fleet to push across at its utmost stretch of speed. Thorax and the land forces had likewise embarked. Of the six Athenian generals Conon alone was on the watch, and observed the enemy's approach. His own galley and eight others, including the *Paralus*, were soon manned; but this only enabled them to make their escape. The crews of the rest were too far off to be recalled by the signal which he gave, and Lysander found the ships nearly empty, and took possession of them, while Thorax and his troops scoured the country, and made the greater part of the men prisoners. A few found refuge in the fortress of Alcibiades, or in some other fortified places in the neighbourhood. Conon, seeing all lost, sailed away with his eight galleys to seek an asylum in Cyprus, which was governed by his friend Evagoras. ¹ As a last token of his zeal for a desperate cause he carried off with him the large sails of the enemy's fleet, which he found collected on a headland near Lampsacus. The *Paralus*, with a still more gallant spirit, made for Athens, to bear the tidings of utter, hopeless, irretrievable, ruin.

Thus the war, which had lasted nearly seven and twenty years, and had drawn forth the whole strength of Greece, was decided within the course of an hour, at a time when, notwithstanding the foreign succours to which the conquerors were indebted for their success, the belligerent powers were so evenly balanced, that no human foresight could have anticipated the issue of the struggle. Lysander sailed back in triumph to Lampsacus with his prizes and prisoners, who included all Conon's colleagues; and he forthwith despatched a Milesian privateer with the news to Sparta, where it arrived on the third day after the event. His first care was to call a council of the allies to deliberate on the fate of the prisoners. The indignation which had been excited by the inhumanity of Philocles toward the Andrians

¹ A client of Lysias, who was present, is made to say that twelve ships escaped (*ἀπολ. δώδε.* p. 162.). It would seem as if Lysias, or his client, had been thinking of the twelve which were left to Athens at the peace.

and Corinthians, and by the decree for the mutilation of the captives, was now exasperated by the recollection of other misdeeds of the vanquished, and vented itself in a general cry for vengeance ; and Lysander was not reluctant to execute it. It was resolved to put all the Athenian prisoners to death, except Adimantus, who was spared on the ground that he alone had opposed the decree. The number thus condemned to execution amounted according to the lowest statement to 3000. Lysander, who was probably conscious that he was not urged by vindictive motives, was anxious to give an appearance of stern but calm justice to the massacre. When the prisoners were brought out, he first addressed Philocles, and asked what he deserved who had set the example of such cruelty, as he had shown in the case of the Andrians and Corinthians. Philocles, it is said, declined to answer an accuser who was also his judge. He might have observed, that the question implied an extraordinary degree either of forgetfulness or of assurance in a citizen of the state which in the early part of the war had given so many precedents of the same kind.¹ But Lysander, with all the composure of righteous severity—according to Theophrastus², having first bathed and dressed himself, as if for a sacrifice—gave the signal for slaughter, by despatching Philocles with his own hands.

The death of Philocles and his colleagues seems at least sufficient to clear them from the suspicion of having betrayed their country, to which their previous conduct might otherwise not unreasonably have exposed them. That such suspicions should nevertheless have been entertained by their contemporaries is not surprising ; and the lenity shown to Adimantus naturally pointed them more especially against him. He was afterwards impeached by Conon³; but whether on the ground of treason, or only of misconduct, and whether on a charge peculiar to himself, or one which he incurred in common

¹ See Vol. III. p. 162. 183.

³ Demosth. de F. L. p. 401.

² In Plutarch Lys. 13.

with the rest, does not appear. The suspicion of treachery has been transmitted to modern times; but we find no sufficient reason for adopting it. It seems impossible to separate the case of Adimantus from that of the rest. As it would be capricious to suppose that he alone was sagacious enough to perceive the danger, so it cannot be believed that Lysander would have endeavoured to corrupt one general only with a view to ensure the success of his stratagem, even if it should be thought credible that he would have exposed it to such a risk of disclosure. If however all but Conon were traitors, it is difficult to account for the exception made in favour of Adimantus. The suspicion might indeed assume a different form. Considering the generals as creatures of the faction which procured the destruction of their predecessors, we might imagine that, without having entered into correspondence with Lysander, they wilfully abetted his designs. But there is no solid groundwork for any of these conjectures: and, with regard to Philocles, they are rendered peculiarly improbable by his conduct toward the Peloponnesian prisoners. The heedlessness of the commanders seems indeed extraordinary, especially after the warnings of Alcibiades; but it is not too great to be ascribed to presumption and incapacity; and only proves that they were no better qualified for their station than the common men.

Lysander, having first made himself master of Sestus, proceeded northward, for the purpose of dislodging the Athenians from their remaining posts in this quarter. Byzantium and Chalcedon opened their gates to him. He dismissed the Athenian garrisons, but upon condition that they should repair to Athens, and with threats of putting to death all whom he found elsewhere. The numbers collected there could no longer give strength, and were sure to hasten the surrender of the city. All Athenians therefore who fell in his way were permitted and enjoined to return home. Having left a Lacedæmonian governor at Byzantium he returned to Lampsacus, where he staid a short time to refit, and then

sailed out of the Hellespont with an armament of 200 galleys. His chief employment in his progress toward the south, was to settle the government of the cities, now entirely subject to his will, on an oligarchical model, which enabled him to place the whole authority in the hands of his own creatures. A council of ten (a decarchy, as it was commonly called) nominated by himself, was the ordinary substitute for all the ancient forms of polity. While he stopt to introduce such changes in Lesbos he despatched Eteonicus with ten galleys to the coast of Thrace, where every town subject to Athens immediately submitted. Indeed throughout Greece and the Ægean, as soon as the events of Ægos-potami were known, the friends of Athens dropt all thoughts of resistance, except in a single instance. At Samos the fear and hatred which the democratical party felt toward its adversaries overpowered the restraints of prudence, and instigated it to fall upon them, and to maintain itself in open defiance of the irresistible power which was ready every moment to crush it. Whether however this was an act of wanton aggression, or of indiscreet resistance, is a question which our ignorance of the circumstances does not permit us to decide. But Lysander, intent on greater things, took no notice for the present of this demonstration of impotent enmity. While he drove the Athenians before him into Athens, he invited the outcasts whom the cruel policy or the resentment of the Athenians had at various times deprived of their native soils, to return to their long-lost homes. So a feeble remnant of the ancient population was collected in Melos and in Ægina. He had sent to Agis and to Sparta to announce his approach, and all the land forces of the confederacy had been summoned to take the field, and followed Pausanias, the colleague of Agis, into Attica, where they encamped in the groves of the Academy. And not long after he himself appeared with 150 galleys, before the mouth of Piræus.

It was night when the *Paralus* arrived with its heavy tidings; but they soon spread from Piræus to the upper

city, ushered in by a long wail of grief and despair, which swelled as they passed from mouth to mouth. The streets and public places were speedily filled with groups of anxious or mourning citizens, assembled to learn or to deplore the fate of their friends and of their country. It is probable that Xenophon does not much exaggerate, when he says that none went to rest that night. But when he adds that the prevailing impression was the fear of treatment similar to that which, in the wantonness of prosperity, they had inflicted on the Melians, the Histians, the Scionæans, the Toronæans, the Æginetans, and on the people of many other vanquished cities, we cannot help suspecting that he has been more eager to express his own sense of the retribution which he thought due for so many breaches of justice and mercy, than careful to represent the exact state of public feeling, even so far as it fell under his observation. His own narrative, as well as the statements of another contemporary author¹, leads us to conclude, that the evil most generally dreaded was of a different kind, though not much less formidable; that it was not extermination, but a political reaction, which might once more reduce Athens under the yoke of a faction, irritated by its former defeat, and by the punishment of its principal leaders, and released from all restraints by the countenance which it would not fail to receive from Sparta. This, as the event proved, was the real danger; and whether this might still be avoided, seems to have been the main question which agitated all patriotic spirits. Successful resistance indeed was known to be utterly hopeless: the last struggle for victory had exhausted the last means of defence. But it was possible that the show of a desperate resolution, steadily maintained, might induce the conquerors to content themselves with such terms, as would leave the state, though shorn of all its power, and dependent on its rival, still in the enjoyment of internal freedom. An assembly was held the next day, in which it was

¹ Lysias Agorat. p. 130, 141. Eratosth. p. 126.

determined to block up the entrance of all the harbours but one, and to take all the precautions required for the defence of a city pressed as they were soon to be by a rigorous siege. In this attitude they awaited the arrival of Lysander and of the Peloponnesian army.

We should have less reason to doubt that Xenophon has faithfully described the impression made on the Athenians by the news of their disaster, notwithstanding the tone of exultation with which he relates it, if he had not forfeited his claim to credit on this point, by representing the same impression as still prevailing, at a time when it is clear from his own narrative, as well as from the statements of Lysias, that no such alarm could have been generally felt, and that the people was much more inclined to an overweening confidence in its own resources. The Athenians, he says, when after the arrival of Lysander they found themselves blockaded both by sea and land, were reduced to despair, and considered it as their inevitable doom to suffer the same usage as they had wantonly dealt to the weaker states, which had committed no offence but that of siding with their now victorious enemy. But this at least must be regarded as a fiction, which perhaps the historian thought justified by its moral tendency; for he himself afterwards mentions a fact which it seems impossible to reconcile with the supposition that the besieged never ceased to dread the utmost rigour of vindictive hostility.¹

¹ Accordingly a writer who eagerly copies Xenophon's picture of the despondency which prevailed at Athens, found himself obliged to disguise this fact as well as he could. Xenophon himself says simply — though in a parenthesis, and in the wrong place, as if he wished to keep the fact as much as possible out of sight — *τριπλάσιον το τῶν μακρῶν τευχῶν ἴτ. δίκην σταδίου καθέλειν ἐκάτῃσιν*. The modern historian informs his readers — "*It was understood that the Lacedæmonians, among other things, required the demolition of the Long Walls for the space of ten furlongs.*" This is a merely arbitrary variation from Xenophon's statement, which so far perfectly agrees with that of Lysias, who relates that those terms were formally proposed by the Lacedæmonians, and communicated to the people in the first assembly held on the subject of peace after the arrival of Lysander. Agorat. p. 130. Nor does Xenophon, any more than Lysias, authorise the assertion that "in holding out the requisition to demolish the walls no assurance had been given that slavery should not be the common doom." Such an assurance, as far as it could be given by words, was clearly conveyed by the offer to *make peace* on the conditions proposed. But after the second unsuccessful embassy it is possible that doubts may have arisen

Soon after the appearance of Lysander before Piræus, negotiations were opened with the besiegers, and they proposed terms of peace, which to many appeared very reasonable and moderate, but which were nevertheless rejected. It is probable that Lysander was eager to consummate his victory, and therefore at first offered liberal conditions.¹ The main demand of the conquerors was that the Long Walls should be pulled down to the length of above a mile on each side. Such overtures could scarcely have been refused by men who felt their situation so desperate as, according to Xenophon's description, his countrymen believed theirs to be from the beginning of the siege: and it may seem surprising that they were not gladly accepted. Cleophon, it appears, was again foremost to oppose the demands of the enemy, and he is said by a later orator² to have threatened to stab any one who should make mention of peace. But it is evident both from Xenophon and Lysias, that such violence was on this occasion at least unnecessary, and that he only expressed the general feeling, when he resisted the proposal relating to the Long Walls. And this feeling can only be understood, if it is supposed that the Long Walls were regarded as the bulwark of democracy, and the concession required as nothing less than the sacrifice of the constitution. On the other hand it is not improbable that these terms, while they appeared to popular jealousy intolerably oppressive, as little satisfied the secret wishes of the oligarchical party, which desired to see its country reduced to a condition in

or have been studiously suggested as to the intentions of the Spartan government, which Theramenes undertook to clear up. — If any one should be inclined to contend, that, independently of Xenophon's testimony, the nature of the case compels us to suppose that the Athenians throughout the siege were afraid of the worst, we would refer to the language of the Athenian speaker in the Melian conference, Thuc. v. 91., *Ἡμεῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἣν καὶ παυθῆ, οὐκ ἀθυροῦμεν τὴν τελευταίην· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀρχόντες ἄλλαν, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν.*

¹ But Æschines certainly exaggerates as much as Xenophon, though in an opposite direction, when (De F. L. p. 38.) he says that the Spartans offered to allow the Athenians to keep Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyrus, and their democratical institutions.

² Æschines, l. c.

which its own ascendancy would be more effectually secured.

The hopes of this party had been revived by the public calamity, and it prosecuted its machinations with redoubled activity, and, it would seem, with unusual dexterity and dissimulation. It was adverse to any treaty which would not completely prostrate Athens under its rule; and probably assumed a show of concern for the national honour, as a ground for concurring on this occasion with Cleophon. Such a course of proceeding would raise its credit, while it led the people to throw away the last chance of domestic independence. The council of this year was chiefly filled with men subservient to its views; and Archestratus one of its members, who declared himself in favour of the enemy's offers, was put in prison—it would seem by his colleagues—and a decree was passed forbidding any one to renew this proposal. At the same time the urgency of the public danger furnished a fair pretext for suggesting a measure, which was professedly designed to promote concord, and allay discontent, but which probably strengthened the oligarchical faction more than the state. A decree, moved by one Patroclides, reciting a similar measure which had been adopted on the eve of the Persian invasion, restored many citizens who had been wholly or partially disfranchised to the full enjoyment of their political rights.² No exiles however were recalled by this decree³, which, if it was the work of the oligarchy, marks its caution no

¹ Lysias Agorat. p. 131. Possibly this prevailing tendency of the council may have been connected with the change which deprived its members of pay.

² Andocides Myst. p. 10. Ἐδοξεν ὑμῶν τοῖς ἀτίμοις ἰπιτίμοις τεῖνται.

³ Id. *ibid.* Lysias indeed—in a passage which has been most absurdly applied to the period preceding the siege—seems to assert that the exiles were restored before the peace, *δικα. κατ. πολ.* p. 174. But this contradicts not only Andocides, but Xenophon *Hell.* ii. 2. 23, as well as probability. The return of the exiles was one of the evils most dreaded. It is probable that Lysias had different epochs in his mind at once, that in which the decree of Patroclides was passed, and that of the capitulation, when the exiles returned. The oath of concord which he speaks of *τοῖς ἀτίμοις ἰπιτίμοις ἰπαιήσασσι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τε καὶ ὁμοῖα καὶ ὁμοῖα δαμνῶσι*, whatever may have been its nature—which the description, *τοῖς ἀλλοῖς δαμνῶσι*, leaves extremely obscure—clearly belongs to the same period the early part of the siege), as the deliberation about concord mentioned by Andocides (*ἐβουλεύσασθαι τε καὶ ὁμοῖα καὶ ὁμοῖα δαμνῶσι*).

less than the jealousy of the people. But it seems probable that this measure led directly or indirectly to the return of Critias, who had been for some time—perhaps for several years—absent from Athens. Xenophon intimates that he was banished¹, but it is possible that his exile may have been partly voluntary, the result of a sentence of disfranchisement, which rendered his residence at Athens insupportable to his haughty spirit. He was perhaps thus forced to go abroad not long after the polity of the Five Thousand was abolished. At the time of the battle of Arginusæ he was sojourning in Thessaly, and—if we may believe an assertion which Xenophon puts into the mouth of an adversary²—was engaged in an enterprise, which shows how lightly his political principles sat on him, or how careless he was in the choice of instruments for his ambitious ends. He is said to have conspired with one Prometheus to establish democracy, and to have attempted to arm the Penests against their lords. The undertaking seems to have failed, but it may have recommended him to the favour of the people at home, and have enabled his friends the more easily to effect his restoration. On his return to Athens he became the leader of the oligarchical faction, and gained the confidence of the clubs, which still, as in the time of the Four Hundred, formed its principal strength. By them, or through their interest, he was appointed to an office, which is so described by Lysias³, that we are left in doubt whether it was public and legal, or merely the creature of the party, which in either case used it for its own ends. It was copied from the Spartan institutions, being filled by five persons who bore the name of Ephors.⁴ Their nominal authority—

¹ ii. 3. 15. Φυγὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου.

² ii. 3. 36.

³ Eratosth. p. 124.

⁴ This in itself appears to be an argument against the supposition (which however is adopted by Boeckh and C. F. Hermann) that it was a public office: and indeed there is only one feature in the description given by Lysias, which seems to imply a legitimate authority; that they assigned the stations of the phylarchs who guarded the city—φυλάρχους ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατιστήσαν. All the other circumstances tend to the opposite conclusion; and perhaps this may be explained as a particular example of the influence exercised in the appointment of the magistrates. And, as

if it was in any degree legal — seems to have been confined to objects connected with the defence of the city. But their chief employment was to collect new associates for the cause of oligarchy, and to wield all the means at their disposal, for the purpose of swaying public measures, and of filling the most important offices with their own adherents. Thus the faction, while it avoided as much as possible every step which might disclose its designs, gradually gained strength, and waited for an opportunity of striking a decisive blow.

It was conscious that without any effort of its own the mere lapse of time would bring it continually nearer to its object. The suddenness of the calamity which had deprived Athens of her navy had prevented the laying in a stock of provisions to meet a long siege; the measures of Lysander had increased the ordinary number of mouths; and scarcity soon began to be felt. We cannot indeed estimate the precise value of Xenophon's language, when he says that the food was entirely consumed¹, since the city was able to hold out four or five months after this failure. But if we may depend on the fact that several persons had died of hunger, the distress must have been great before the people attempted to renew the negotiation with the enemy. At length ambassadors were sent to Agis, to propose alliance with Sparta — a softer term for subjection — without any condition but that of retaining the walls and Piræus. Agis however disclaimed the power of treating

Sievers observes (*De Xenophontis Hellenicis*, p. 92.), it is scarcely possible that there should have been any room for doubting who the ephors were — as appears from Lysias to have been the case — if they had been publicly chosen.

¹ 11. 2. 11. *ἐπὶ παντὶ λῶς ἔδην ὁ σῖτος ἐπελειόετο*. Yet he writes, only a few lines after, that Theramenes waited more than three months for the time when the Athenians would be willing to accept any terms, *διὰ τὰ ἐπιλειομένους τὸν σῖτον ἄτακτα*. The occasional supplies introduced by private adventurers, who contrived to elude the blockade, as in the instance mentioned by Isocrates *adv. Callim.* p. 382., can scarcely be thought sufficient to reconcile Xenophon's expressions in these two passages. The extraordinary honours bestowed on the client of Isocrates prove that the case was a rare, if not a solitary, one, and if the city had for several months been kept from starvation by his exertions, the orator certainly would not have failed to dwell upon that fact.

with them, and directed them to repair to Sparta. But on the borders of Laconia, near Sellasia, they were stopt by a message from the Ephors, who called upon them to state the proposal which they brought, and on hearing it ordered them immediately to depart, and not to return until they should be better advised. This answer created general despondency at Athens; and it would have been credible enough, that now at least many began to apprehend the worst evils of war. Xenophon however informs us, that none yet ventured to propose that they should accede to the terms first offered by Sparta; and it would therefore seem that they had not yet given up all hopes of a more honourable capitulation.

Still it was necessary that some step should be taken without delay; even the time required for another embassy could be ill spared. In this emergency Theramenes came forward to relieve the public anxiety. He probably still enjoyed the reputation of a friend of freedom, who had no connection with the oligarchical party. He was therefore listened to with confidence, when he offered to go to Lysander, and ascertain the real intentions of Sparta, and the object for which she insisted on demolishing the Long Walls. Xenophon speaks as if the only doubt had been, or at least now was, whether the Spartans exacted this concession merely by way of security for themselves, or with a view to further hostile proceedings, and would be satisfied with nothing short of reducing the Athenians to personal slavery. But at least it seems clear that it was not this suspicion that at first deterred the people from accepting these conditions¹; and even now, if we may believe an author as well informed as Xenophon, and not swayed by stronger prejudices², Theramenes encouraged it to hope, not merely that it might avoid the total extinction of its civil existence, but that it might obtain peace without

¹ If it had been so, instead of peremptorily rejecting the condition, they would surely have applied for some further assurance to relieve their apprehensions. If no verbal assurance could satisfy them, the undertaking of Theramenes was useless.

² Lysias c. Agorat. p. 130. Eratosth. p. 126.

the sacrifice either of its fortifications or of the remains of its navy, and even some further indulgence, the precise nature of which he affected to keep secret, as he did the method by which he expected to procure such favourable terms. What was eagerly desired was readily believed, notwithstanding the opposition which he had to encounter, we do not know on what grounds, from several speakers; and he set out, but without any intention of returning until the city should have been reduced to a state of weakness which would leave it no liberty of choice as to any conditions that might be offered, or his own partisans should have gained an undisputed ascendancy, which would be attended with the same effect. With this view he stayed upwards of three months in the enemy's camp, and he no doubt made use of this opportunity to communicate the plans of his party to Lysander. Xenophon is totally silent as to the events which happened during this interval at Athens, and would lead us to suppose that the only change which took place there before the return of Theramenes consisted in the progress of the famine. But we learn from Lysias that during this period the oligarchical faction was actively employed in extending its influence, and removing or overawing its adversaries; and we gather from an allusion, which Xenophon elsewhere makes to the same transactions, that the city was at this time the scene of violent tumults.¹

We have already observed that the council of the year was filled with partisans of oligarchy; and Cleophon had frequently inveighed against it as a band of conspirators.² We do not know whether any fresh causes occurred during the absence of Theramenes to exasperate their mutual animosity, or whether the council now for the first time felt itself strong enough to act on the offensive against him. He was a troublesome and perhaps a formidable adversary; for he was bold, vigilant, and

¹ Hell. i. 7. 40. στάσις τις γινώμενη, ἐν τῇ Κλεισίων ἀτιθεί.

² Lysias c. Nicomach. p. 184. Κλ. τὴν βουλὴν ἐξουθεῖν, φασκὼν συνιστάναι, καὶ οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευόμεν τῇ πόλει.

in one respect apparently honest—he died poor, after having for many years filled stations which would have enabled him to enrich himself at the public expense¹—and he possessed the confidence of the great mass of his fellow citizens. Measures therefore were concerted for his overthrow; and the struggle for this object seems to have been regarded as one which would in a great degree determine the final success of the contending parties. It appears that he held some military office, which afforded a pretext for charging him with neglect of duty; and the council at the instance of Satyrus, one of its members, threw him into prison, to take his trial. According to the legal mode of proceeding he should have been brought before a court composed in the usual way of the common citizens. But such a tribunal would not have served the purpose of his enemies, who foresaw that in this case he would be acquitted. To ensure his destruction, they called in the aid of an associate who possessed extraordinary means of abetting their designs. After the overthrow of the Four Hundred a person named Nicomachus had been entrusted with the task of collecting and transcribing the laws of Solon. If we may rely on the account which Lysias gives of this man and his commission, we are surprised to see an individual, under the Athenian democracy, invested with such extensive power over the lives and property of his fellow citizens. Nicomachus it appears had at first required no more than four months for the execution of his work; but he contrived to delay its completion for some years. And the laws which he had to compile were in such a state, and his operations were subject to so little controul, that he was able to insert forgeries in the new code, to suit the interest of any parties who would pay him for the interpolation. To this man the oligarchical faction now applied for assistance against Cleo-

¹ Lysias De Bonis Ar. p. 156. "As to Cleophon, you are all aware that for many years all the affairs of the city (or its finances) passed through his hands, and it was expected that he had amassed a very large fortune from his office (*ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς*). Yet after his death this supposed wealth was nowhere to be found, and his relatives, to whom he left all he had, are notoriously poor."

phon; and Nicomachus drew out of his armoury a weapon made or pointed for their purpose. He fabricated a law which constituted the council itself the judges of Cleophon's case, and according to Lysias paid so little regard to decency, as to produce this law, which no one had ever heard of before, on the very day appointed for the trial. Cleophon was tried by his enemies, condemned, and put to death. But this mockery of justice seems not to have been carried through without violent opposition; for Xenophon speaks of a sedition in which Cleophon lost his life, and in which—probably through the contrivance of the same party—Callixenus, and the others who had been thrown into prison for their conduct in the prosecution of the generals after the battle of Arginusæ, made their escape. They found an asylum in Decelea.

Theramenes, it must be supposed, received information of all that was passing at Athens during his absence, and perhaps the triumph gained by his friends over Cleophon hastened his return; though if the city had already begun to suffer the miseries of famine when he left it, he might well have expected to find it by this time willing to submit to any terms which might be dictated to it. He now announced that he had been till then detained by Lysander, and at last had been directed to apply to the government at Sparta, which alone possessed authority to decide such questions. It was not a time for scrutinizing the conduct of Theramenes; the people was impatient of further delay, and eagerly caught at the hopes which he still held out. He was sent with nine colleagues to Sparta, invested with full powers. The embassy was stopt at Sellasia as before by a message from the Ephors, but was permitted to proceed on declaring itself authorised to conclude a definitive treaty. An assembly was then held to deliberate on the terms which should be granted to the vanquished enemy. It was attended by deputies from the allied states; and according to Xenophon many of them urged the Spartans to exercise the right of conquest to its utmost extent, and

instead of negotiating to exterminate Athens from the face of Greece. The Corinthians and Thebans contended most strenuously for the more rigorous measure ; and there was a report, that on this or some other occasion a Theban orator had proposed to raze Athens to the ground, and to turn Attica into a sheepwalk. But the Spartans were, if not too generous, too prudent to gratify the resentment of their allies by a kind of revenge which would have been no less impolitic than inhuman. They looked more to the future than the past ; and Lysander, who had sent an Athenian exile named Aristoteles to prepare them for the embassy of Theramenes, had probably pointed out the advantages which they might derive from Athens, if the government were placed in the hands of a party which would entirely depend on their protection. They therefore took a tone of magnanimous forbearance, and declared that they would not consent to extirpate a people which had once rendered great services to Greece in the most perilous emergencies : a noble sentiment, which had unhappily been dormant in the case of Platæa, when they stood in a different relation to Thebes. The conditions with which the embassy was sent back were, that not only the Long Walls, but the fortifications of Piræus, should be destroyed, the ships, all but twelve, delivered up, the exiles restored, and that Athens should be annexed to the Peloponnesian confederacy, or as Xenophon mildly but plainly expresses it, should make the enemies and allies of Sparta her own, and should follow whithersoever Sparta might lead both by land and by sea.

With these terms Theramenes and his colleagues returned ; and as they entered Athens, they were surrounded by an anxious crowd, which trembled lest their embassy might have proved fruitless : for famine was now extending its ravages with frightful rapidity. An assembly was appointed to be held the next day to receive and deliberate on the report of the embassy. But in the mean while the terms were privately communicated to many inquirers, and they excited great surprise and in-

dignation. A number of persons, including some of the generals and other military officers, reproached Theramenes with the disappointment he had caused of hopes which he had excited, and declared their intention of persuading the people to reject the terms he had brought. His party therefore thought it expedient to get rid of these opponents before the meeting of the assembly. One Agoratus was suborned to lay an information against them before the council, charging them with a conspiracy to obstruct the peace; and they were all arrested. The next day the assembly was held in the theatre of Piræus, the ambassadors made their report, and Theramenes urged the necessity of accepting the treaty, which notwithstanding the plenitude of his powers seems not to have been thought binding on the people. Several voices were still raised against it; not however because any apprehensions were entertained that the Spartans would not observe it, and would use the power it gave them to treat the Athenians as slaves, but because it was seen that the restoration of the exiles was the first step toward the abolition of democracy. Theramenes himself was attacked, and his conduct is said to have been contrasted by one Cleomenes with that of Themistocles, who had outwitted the enemy for the security of Athens, as Theramenes had deceived his confiding countrymen to deprive them of their means of defence. But Theramenes felt himself strong enough to disregard these taunts; the majority of the assembly was glad to purchase relief from the horrors of famine at any price; it approved of the proceedings which had been instituted against the persons accused by Agoratus, who were committed to prison for trial; the treaty was adopted, and Lysander sailed into Piræus.

He forthwith proceeded to demolish the Long Walls and the fortifications of the port, and to commit the surrendered galleys which he did not think fit to be carried away to the flames. The work of destruction was begun to the sound of joyous music. The foreigners looked on, crowned with chaplets, as for a festival, deeming

that day, says Xenophon, the beginning of liberty to Greece. Their triumph was shared by a band of Athenian exiles, who followed in the train of Lysander, and, in this day of their country's deepest humiliation, saw the beginning of their power, and the earnest of their revenge.

The close of a struggle so long and so momentous, which produced so great a change in the state of Greece, invites us to pause, and reflect on the series of causes and effects which led to this issue. We are aware that the instruction to be derived from the contemplation of these events is not confined to any particular view of their connection. But as it is equally certain that they can yield little either of instruction or entertainment, so long as they are considered merely as insulated facts, we think it may not be useless to review them for the purpose of showing the kind of necessity by which they appear to us to be linked together.

We must begin by repeating an observation which we have already made : that the war was inevitable, and though it might have been delayed could not have been prevented. It arose not out of the accidental occasion which determined the time of its commencement, but out of the characters and relative position of the parties. The immediate motive was not ambition, but on the one hand jealousy, on the other fear. The nature of the Athenian empire, no less than the genius of the people, constantly tended to conquest and aggression, and some members of the Peloponnesian confederacy were exposed by their situation to frequent collision with the rival power, which sometimes encroached upon their rights, and if not by actual intrigues, by the influence of its reputation and example continually threatened the stability of their internal constitution. Thus Corinth, Thebes, and Megara, had become implacably hostile to Athens, and were eager for war, from which they expected security and revenge ; and Sparta was at length convinced that the honour of her station in the confederacy, and perhaps her safety, required that she should

comply with the wishes of her allies. Beyond these objects her views do not seem to have been then carried. She was desirous of humbling Athens, but apparently without any design of stepping into her place. She was the aggressor, but under a conviction of the necessity of the measure, which gradually overcame the reluctance inspired by her habitual caution.

In the Peloponnesian councils no doubt seems to have been entertained, except by king Archidamus, of a speedy triumph, while at Athens the eloquence of Pericles was needed to brace the courage of his countrymen for the contest; and they entered upon it not so much with a strong hope of victory, as with the feeling that it was better to run any risk than to hold their power on a precarious tenure by the sufferance of Sparta. But the events of the first four or five years of the war wrought a great change in the views and spirit of the belligerents. The Athenians at first suffered much more than they had feared. The devastation of their territory proved far more annoying in the reality than their imagination had pictured it. The calamities of war were aggravated by the ravages of the pestilence. The protracted siege of Potidæa drained the treasury, and the main source of their revenue was threatened by the revolt of Mitylene. Their spirit sank for a moment under the pressure of these evils; they regretted that they had listened to the counsels of Pericles, and sued for peace, which the enemy was too much elated to grant on reasonable terms. But when they found that they were not overwhelmed by such a series of violent and unexpected shocks, their temporary despondency was succeeded by increased confidence in their own energy and resources: for it now seemed that there was no danger or difficulty which they might not hope to surmount. Already in the fifth year of the war, when the plague had a little abated, they began to turn their thoughts to conquests in the remote West. Pericles indeed had cautioned them against attempting any enlargement of their empire during the war. But he had

also taught them to neglect Attica, and to fix their views on the sea, as a boundless field for new acquisitions by which they might compensate their domestic losses.¹ They acted in his spirit, though against the letter of his advice, when they began to sound their way in Sicily. But while they were engaged in their enterprises there, they prosecuted the war with new vigour at home, and gave their operations a more decidedly offensive character. The genius of Demosthenes — superior perhaps in military affairs to that of Pericles — seized the right method of assailing the enemy's most vulnerable side, and Sparta, after having in her turn sued in vain for peace, saw herself reduced to a state of the most abject dismay and perplexity. If Athens had confined her attacks to Peloponnesus, she might at least have extorted terms most advantageous to herself and humiliating to her rival. But it was not to be expected that her ambition should be moderated by success: the overweening presumption it inspired displayed itself in the impatience with which she bore her temporary exclusion from Sicily.

The pacification effected by Hermocrates among the Sicilian states should have been both a useful check and a wholesome warning to the Athenians. It failed altogether of answering the latter purpose: but it may have contributed, together with the alarm excited by the enterprise of Brasidas and the disastrous campaign in Bœotia to incline them to peace; and personal motives induced the leading men in the two rival states to take advantage of this soberer mood. Yet the peace of Nicias seems never to have been considered by either party as anything more than an interval for taking breath and gaining strength to renew the conflict. The inertness exhibited during this period by the Spartan government, the discord which threatened the Peloponnesian confederacy with dissolution, the accession of Argos to the Athenian alliance, all tended to increase the security with which the Athenians looked forward to the issue of the struggle. Melos was sacrificed in the wantonness

¹ Thuc. i. 143. ii. 62.

of prosperity and power. The ambition of Alcibiades seconded that of his fellow citizens: in an island like Sicily pretexts for intervention could never long be wanting; and the new Sicilian expedition was undertaken on a scale suited to the growing vigour, and the aspiring temper of the people. The conquest of Sicily was perhaps considered as a step to that of Peloponnesus; but it was more attractive as a source of revenue than the dominion of the whole Peloponnesian confederacy.

A modern historian, whose subject led him to speculate on the causes which determined the issue of the Peloponnesian war, thinks that far too much weight has been assigned in this respect to the disastrous event of the Sicilian expedition, while on the other hand the Athenians have been unjustly charged with rashness in that undertaking.¹ He attributes its failure to the want of that support which the Athenians had expected to receive from the Sicilian states, without which no foreign armament, however powerful, could have succeeded in such an enterprise; but he does not perceive any necessary connection between the Sicilian disaster and the final overthrow of the Athenian power. We cannot entirely assent to either of these views, though the one appears to us to come much nearer to the truth than the other. Without stopping to inquire how far the Athenians miscalculated the obstacles they had to encounter, or the aid which they were to receive, we think it clear that their first armament was adequate to the immediate object of the expedition, the reduction of Syracuse, which it so nearly accomplished that, if the siege had been begun a little sooner, all the succours that could have been sent from the other parts of the island and from Greece could not have saved the place. Whether the fall of Syracuse would have been attended with the subjugation of Sicily, is a different question. It might have involved the Athenians in a war with the other Sicilian states as calamitous as their defeat. But even should this not have been the immediate result,

¹ Manso Sparta, li. p. 221.

it seems certain that their ambition would only have been inflamed by such a conquest, and that they would have embarked in still bolder or wilder undertakings, which their unbending pertinacity would have rendered no less disastrous than the siege of Syracuse. Syracuse was their Moscow ; but if it had not been so, they would have found one elsewhere.

In this point of view we might be disposed to maintain that a total failure, which put an end to all those projects of conquest in the West which had been so long harboured at Athens, was less to be dreaded than partial success. Nevertheless we cannot agree with the writer whose opinions we have noticed, that the defeat of the Sicilian expedition was an event of little or no moment with regard to the issue of the war, and that this is wholly to be ascribed to the Persian subsidies, which enabled Sparta, though repeatedly vanquished, as often to renew the struggle, until she had exhausted and overpowered her adversary. It is true that the wonderful efforts which Athens made during this period, prove that, but for the singular combination of circumstances which rendered the ambition of Cyrus subservient to the interests of Sparta, the war, notwithstanding the losses of the Athenians in Sicily, might have lasted many years longer, or might even have been brought to a different issue. But it seems equally clear, that Athens might have held out both against the Spartan arms and the Persian gold, until their union had been dissolved by the death of Cyrus, if she had not been weakened by domestic discord ; and that, even if the Persian court had remained neutral, the intrigues of the oligarchical faction might have rendered all her victories fruitless. The failure of the Sicilian expedition both emboldened the leaders of that faction, and, by the increased pressure which it threw on the wealthier citizens, swelled its numbers, and embittered its spirit. Though defeated in its first attempt to betray the city, it never dropt its purpose. We cannot indeed pronounce with certainty that it deprived the people of the services

of Alcibiades, though this is rendered highly probable by the sequel ; but it seems clear that it contrived the scene through which the last resources of the state were entrusted to the weak or faithless hands which lost or betrayed them. In this way the Sicilian expedition appears to have contributed more than any other cause to the termination of the Peloponnesian war.

-CHAP. XXXI.

FROM THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE
RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS.

IN the capitulation on which Athens surrendered, so far as its terms are reported by Xenophon, no mention appears to have been made of any change which was to take place in its form of government; and, if we might believe Diodorus, one article expressly provided, that the Athenians should enjoy their hereditary constitution.¹ This is probably an error; but if such language was used in the treaty it was apparently designed rather to insult than to deceive the people; and the framers of the article, who were also to be its expounders, had in their view not the free constitution under which the city had flourished since the time of Solon, but some ancient form of misrule, which had been long forgotten, but might still be recovered from oblivion by the industry of such antiquarians as Nicomachus. It is at least not to be doubted that the Spartan government, if it did not stipulate for the subversion of the democracy, looked forward to such a revolution as one of the most certain and important results of its victory. But it may have believed that its Athenian partisans would be strong enough to effect it without its interference. And we gather from a statement of Lysias, which Xenophon does not contradict², that Lysander, after he

¹ XIV. 4. τῇ πατρίῳ πολιτείᾳ χρῆσθαι.

² Eratosth. p. 126. μετιτιμῶντο τὰς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου τοῦ ἐκ Σάμου. Xenophon indeed would lead us to suppose that Lysander did not leave Athens until he had settled the government of the Thirty. But the extreme brevity with which Xenophon touches upon the events which he here professes to relate, renders it unsafe to draw an inference from his silence against the positive testimony of another contemporary author. It would be quite consistent with the character of Lysander that he should

had seen the demolition of the walls begun, leaving his friends to complete their work, sailed away to Samos, now the only place in the Ægean where the authority of Sparta was not acknowledged.

If this was the case, he had scarcely laid siege to Samos before his presence was required at Athens. Theramenes, Critias, and their associates, wished to give a legitimate aspect to the power which they meant to usurp, and to overthrow the constitution in the name of the people. But they did not think it safe to trust to their own influence for the first step; and though Agis was still at hand, he might not enter so cordially into their views, and did not possess so much weight as Lysander. When therefore a day had been fixed for an assembly to consider the question of reforming the constitution¹, Lysander was sent for to attend the discussion. Theramenes had undertaken the principal part in the management of the business. He proposed that the supreme power should for the present be lodged with thirty persons, who should be authorised to draw up a new code of laws², which however was to be conformable to the ancient institutions, according to a model framed by Dracontides.³ The presence of Lysander, and the neighbourhood of the Peloponnesian troops, deterred the friends of liberty from coming forward to express their sentiments on this proposition.

have withdrawn from Athens before the walls were destroyed, for the very purpose of entrapping the Athenians into a breach of the treaty, which would give a pretext for exacting unreserved obedience to all his commands. Lysias seems to intimate that Lysander directed his Athenian friends to take no steps with regard to the constitution before a certain time: that is, probably, until the time allowed for pulling down the walls — which it was pretty certain would either not have been done or not done with the requisite exactness — should have expired. Theramenes it is said prevented an assembly from being held, *ὡς ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρὰ ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ ἐπηρεχέη*. It such was the state of the case we can easily understand why Xenophon passed it over in silence.

¹ Lysias, l. c. *περὶ πολιτείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησεν*.

² This appears to be the meaning of Xenophon's concise expression, *Hell. ii. 3. 2. οἱ τοὺς πατρῆους νόμους ἐνυργῶντες, καὶ ὅτι πολιτεύουσιν*. They were to revise the old laws, but with unlimited power of altering them, and of adding new ones.

³ Lysias, Eratosth. p. 126. *τῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῆσθαι ἢ Δρακοντίδης ἀπίστευον*. But the precise meaning of these words is very doubtful. There is almost equal difficulty, whether we suppose that they refer to a proposition then made, or to one which was to be made, by Dracontides.

But its nature and tendency were sufficiently clear, and a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly. Theramenes treated it with contemptuous defiance¹; but Lysander silenced it by a graver argument. He bad the malcontents take notice, that they were at his mercy, and were no longer protected by the treaty. The fortifications had not been demolished within the time prescribed², and therefore in strictness of right the treaty was void. Their lives were forfeited and might be in jeopardy, if they should reject the proposition of Theramenes. It was adopted without further hesitation; and a list of the Thirty, of whom ten were named by Theramenes, ten by the Athenian ephors, and ten were nominally left to the choice of the assembly³, was received with equal unanimity. The names which it comprised, some of which soon became infamously notorious were: Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclidas, Hiero, Mnesilochus, Chremo, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phædras, Chærilas, Anætiæ, Piso, Sophocles (not the poet, who was now dead), Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesithides. Besides these a board of Ten was appointed—perhaps by Lysander himself—to govern Piræus. As soon as this affair was despatched, Lysander departed with his fleet to Samos; and the Peloponnesian army evacuated Attica.

¹ This account, which is that of Lysias, Eratosth. p. 126., is directly contrary to that of Diodorus xiv. 4., who everywhere chooses to give Theramenes credit for the purest virtue and the warmest patriotism, and on this occasion represents him as protesting against the establishment of the oligarchy, until he was put to silence by Lysander's threats. No mistake is too gross for Diodorus; but one can hardly understand Schneider's meaning in his note on Xenophon Hell. ii. 2. 22., where he talks of reconciling Diodorus with Lysias by supposing the exact reverse of what Lysias distinctly asserts. Xenophon despatches the whole scene in three words: ἰδοὺς τὸν δόξαν.

² So Diodorus xiv. 4., and Plutarch, Lys. 15., who supply and explain Lysias, Eratosth. p. 127.

³ Δίσα ἐκ τῶν τριῶντων. Lysias, l. c. The whole list had no doubt been made out beforehand; and it does not seem probable that Theramenes really chose ten out of the Thirty. In that case his party would have been stronger than it appears to have been; and at least he could not have stood alone in his opposition to the measures afterwards adopted.

The Samians, blockaded by land and by sea, were forced to capitulate before the end of the summer; they were permitted to leave the city, but not to carry away any part of their property, except the clothes they wore. These terms might be thought lenient, if they had been guilty of any ferocious outrage; but perhaps Lysander did not view their conduct in that light. He was however probably anxious to return home and to exhibit the fruits of his victory to his admiring countrymen, and may have been therefore the more willing to treat with the besieged. When they had withdrawn, he supplied their place with the exiles who had been expelled at various times in the civil feuds of the island, put them in possession of all the property of the vanquished party, and appointed a Council of Ten, to govern them, and secure their obedience. He then dismissed the allies to their homes, and himself with the Lacedæmonian squadron returned to Laconia. He brought with him the Athenian galleys surrendered in Piræus,—the last fragments of that maritime power which he had broken—trophies from the prizes taken at Ægos-potami, and 470 talents, the remainder of the tribute which he had collected from the Asiatic cities during the absence of Cyrus. But we are inclined to conclude from a story which, though it is not mentioned by Xenophon, is related by several later writers, with circumstances too minute and probable to be rejected, that he had previously sent a larger sum—perhaps not much less than 1000 talents—which he is said to have entrusted to the care of Gylippus, the hero of Syracuse.¹ Gylippus

¹ Xenophon clearly states the 470 talents to have been carried to Sparta by Lysander himself. Diodorus xiii. 106 relates that he sent Gylippus to Sparta with 1500 talents immediately after his victory at Ægos-potami—at least before he came to Athens. Plutarch Lys. 16. supposes the money to have been sent after the surrender of Athens; and in Nic. 28. he mentions 1000 talents as the sum. It is remarkable that this, added to that mentioned by Xenophon, should come so near to the amount stated by Diodorus. Hence we are led to conjecture that the two larger numbers are not owing to exaggeration, but that Gylippus was sent home with 1000 talents—probably after the surrender of Athens—and that the 470 talents were the surplus left by the siege of Samos. Diodorus seems to have thrown the two sums together, and to have given the amount in round numbers.

was subject to the same infirmity which had occasioned the disgrace of his father Cleandridas. He could not resist the temptation of embezzling a part of the treasure, was detected, and banished, and put an end to his own life by fasting. But even the sum mentioned by Xenophon was probably the largest that had ever been carried at one time to Sparta. To this were added crowns, and various other presents, which had been bestowed upon Lysander by many cities, which were eager to testify their gratitude and admiration, or to gain the favour of the conqueror. This influx of wealth was viewed with jealousy by several Spartans, who perhaps dreaded the effect it might produce both on their foreign policy, and their domestic institutions: the example of Gylippus, though by no means an extraordinary case, might seem to confirm their views: and it appears that a proposal was made to dedicate the whole to the Delphic god.¹ But Lysander and his friends strenuously resisted this measure, and prevailed on the ephors or the people to let the treasure remain in the public coffers. A part was employed to commemorate the triumph of Sparta, and the merits of the individuals who had principally helped to achieve it. Lysander himself adorned one of the Spartan temples with memorials of his two victories, of Notium and Ægos-potami; and the first might indeed justly be considered as having opened the way for the last. Tripods of extraordinary size were dedicated at Amyclæ²; and at Delphi the statues of the tutelary Twins, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and Posidon, forming part of a great group, which comprised those of Lysander—who was represented receiving a crown from Posidon—his soothsayer Abas, Hermon, the Megarian, the master of his galley, and upwards of twenty-nine other persons, Spartans or natives of other cities, who had distinguished themselves

¹ Plutarch Lys. 17. who cites Theopompus and Ephorus for the main fact, compared with Athenæus' vi. p. 233. who says that, according to some authors, before Lysander's victory the Spartans used to consecrate all their gold and silver to Apollo in Delphi.

² Paus. iii. 17. 4.

³ Id. iii. 18. 8.

at Ægos-potami, long attested the gratitude of Sparta toward gods and men.¹

In the mean while the party which had usurped the supreme authority at Athens, had been unfolding the real character of its domination. The first care of the Thirty was to provide themselves with instruments suited to their purposes; they filled all important posts with their creatures. The ephoralty seems to have merged in their own office. The council was already for the most part composed of their partizans, and needed but few purifying changes; it was now to become the sole tribunal for state-trials. It might have been inferred from the language of Xenophon in his History, that the legislative functions which they professed to assume were merely nominal; but we collect from a hint which he drops elsewhere², that they availed themselves from time to time of this branch of their authority, to promulgate laws, or regulations of police, either by way of precaution or of pretext; and that they exercised a censorial controul over the occupations and conduct of their subjects. But it is probable that they never intended to publish any code, much less any constitution which might limit their power. Their main object, in which they seem to have been unanimous, was to reverse the policy of Themistocles and Pericles: to reduce Athens to the rank of a petty town, cut off from the sea, without colonies or commerce, incapable of resisting the will of Sparta, or of exciting her jealousy. It seems to have been with the design of

¹ Paus. x. 9. 7. The reader may have observed that this passage of Pausanias is referred to by a modern historian in support of the assertion, "that the policy of the Lacedæmonian government seems to have met the vanity of Lysander in the endeavour to give more than its due splendor to the victory of Notium. Nine statues were dedicated on the occasion," &c. The statues dedicated were above twenty-nine; for there is a chasid in the text of Pausanias through which a name or names have dropt. But there is no allusion in the whole passage to the battle of Notium, or to any victory but that of Ægos-potami. It seems to be to this group that Plutarch alludes Lys. 18. where he says, that Lysander set up his own statue at Delphi in bronze, and that of each of the admirals τὰς ναυάρχων ἰκαστοῦ. — Some remarkable discrepancies between Xenophon and Plutarch in their accounts of the proceedings of Lysander subsequent to the battle of Ægos-potami, will be noticed in the Appendix.

² Mem. i. 2. 31.

signifying this leading maxim of their administration in a sensible manner, that they altered the position of the bema from which the orators addressed the assembly in the Pnyx, so that it might no longer command a view of the sea and of Salamis.¹ They still more distinctly intimated their intention, while they took a step toward carrying it into effect, by selling the materials of the magnificent arsenal, which it had cost 1000 talents to build, for three, to a contractor who undertook to demolish and clear it away.² It was perhaps at a later period, and for their own security, that they destroyed the fortresses on the borders of Attica.³ If they had succeeded in their aims, the history of Athens might now have been said to have closed; for it would have ceased materially to affect the course of events in the rest of Greece, and could have possessed no interest but such as might belong to the internal changes or quarrels of the oligarchy.

Happily for their country the diversity of their cha-

* Plutarch Them. 19. The nature of this change, which before was very obscure, has been satisfactorily explained by Mr. Wordsworth in his elegant and interesting little work, "Athens and Attica," p. 73, where he observes that "there are very distinct remains of another bema which has evidently been mutilated by design at a distance of about twenty-five yards immediately behind the existing one. From the former the sea is distinctly visible, from the latter it is not." We take this opportunity of noticing a twofold inadvertency which we committed in the remark on this subject in Vol. II. p. 367. In the first place what is there said of *the position of the seats* and of *the people* ought to have been said, if at all, of the bema, and the speakers. In the next place the reader ought not, by the expression *he is said*, to have been led to suppose that the innovation there attributed to Themistocles is distinctly stated by any ancient author: for it is only an inference—and as it now appears to us a doubtful one, though sanctioned by colonel Leake, Top. of Athens, p. *42.—from the contrast which Plutarch describes between the policy of Themistocles, and that of the ancient kings of Attica. But it does not follow because the old bema was made *ὥστε ἀπολείπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν*, that it was so placed for that purpose. It might therefore have been earlier than Themistocles. On the other hand it may be urged that unless there had been a tradition of some previous alteration of the site, the Thirty could scarcely have thought of meddling with it. But at least this does not seem to have occurred to Plutarch.

² The destruction of the *νέωμαι* is distinctly imputed to the Thirty as their voluntary act both by Isocrates Arcop. p. 201. Tauchnitz, where the contract is specified, and by Lysias Eratosth. § 101., though in another passage, Arcrat. p. 134., he couples it with the demolition of the walls and the surrender of the ships. But from another passage (Nicom. p. 185.) it would appear that the destruction was not completed, for he mentions *τοὺς τοίχους ὁικοῦς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη πρὸς καταρρίοντα*.

³ Lysias Eratosth. p. 124.

acters was too great to be reconciled even by the sense of their common interest, and proved a source of dissension which became fatal to their power. The men whose ability and energy gave them the predominance over the rest, were hurried by the violence of their passions into excesses from which their more prudent and moderate associates recoiled, but which they were unable to prevent. For some time they preserved a show of decency in their proceedings, and some of their acts were so generally acceptable, that the means, though contrary to law and justice, might to many seem to be sanctified by the end. The first prosecutions were directed chiefly against a class of men who were universally odious, and had contributed more than any others to involve the state in the evils from which they themselves now justly suffered, the informers, or sycophants as they were called at Athens, who had perverted the laws, corrupted the tribunals, and had gained an infamous livelihood by the extortion which they were thus enabled to practise on wealthy and timid citizens, but more especially on foreigners subject to Athenian jurisdiction, who were thus more than by any other grievance alienated from the sovereign state. The most notorious of these pests of the commonwealth were eagerly condemned by the council; and their punishment was viewed with pleasure by all honest men. Yet the satisfaction it caused must have been a little allayed in some minds by the reflection, that the form of proceeding by which they were condemned was one under which the most innocent might always be exposed to the same fate. According to the new regulation the Thirty presided in person over the trials held by the council: two tables were placed in front of the benches which they occupied, to receive the balls, or tokens, by which the councillors declared their verdict, and which instead of being dropt secretly into a box; were now to be openly deposited on the board, so that the Thirty might see which way every man voted.¹ These however were not the only cases which they brought

¹ Lysias Agorat. p. 133.

before the council, even in the early part of their reign. The persons who before the surrender of the city had been arrested on information, partly procured by bribery¹, and partly extorted by fear, or by the rack, charging them with a conspiracy against the state, but who had really been guilty of no offence but that of expressing their attachment to the constitution which was now abolished, were soon after brought to a mock trial², and judicially murdered. Among them was Eucrates the brother of Nicias, who had been elected general after the battle of Ægos-potami, and had been strongly solicited by the oligarchical faction to join them and to share the power which they were preparing to seize, but believing it still possible to preserve the internal freedom of the commonwealth, had declined their offers and resisted their intrigues³, Strombichides, whom we have seen commanding on the Asiatic coast⁴, and many other citizens of like quality and merit.⁵ And it can hardly be supposed that these were the only political adversaries sacrificed by the Thirty during the period in which they exercised their power with the greatest moderation.

Even such executions might be considered as among the temporary evils incident to every political revolution : and there were some of the Thirty who did not wish to multiply them more than was necessary to their safety. But the greater number, and above all Critias, did not mean to stop here : and perhaps some signs of discontent soon became visible, which gave them a pretext for insisting on the need of stronger measures, and of additional safeguards. Two of their number, Æschines and

¹ Such appears to have been the case with Agoratus himself. One of the persons whom he named turned informer to save his life : Hippias a Thasian was racked, and it seems died under the torture without making any disclosure. Lysias Agorat. p. 135.

² Lysias p. 133. *Ἐπειδὴ οἱ Τριάκοντα κατιστάθησαν, εὐθὺς κρίσιν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῦτοις ἐποίησαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ.*

³ Lysias De public. bo. Nic. fr. p. 150.

⁴ Lysias Agorat. p. 130.

⁵ Lysias Agorat. p. 135. Though it may be doubted whether the orator here confines himself to the persons who suffered immediately in consequence of the information given by Agoratus, or considers him as chargeable with all the blood shed by the Thirty.

Aristoteles, were deputed by common consent to Sparta, to obtain a body of troops to garrison the citadel. The ground alledged was that there were turbulent men whom it was necessary to remove before their government could be settled on a firm basis; and they undertook to maintain the garrison as long as its presence should be required. Xenophon's language seems to imply that Lysander had by this time returned to Sparta; if so, upwards of six months had now elapsed from the surrender of the city. Lysander, whether present or absent, exerted his influence in their behalf, and induced the ephors to send the force which they desired, under the command of Callibius, who was invested with the authority of harmost. His arrival released Critias and his colleagues from all the restraints hitherto imposed on them by their fears of their fellow-citizens. They courted him with an obsequiousness proportioned to the wantonness of the tyranny which they hoped to be able to exercise with his sanction and aid. The footing on which they stood with him is sufficiently illustrated by a single fact. An Athenian named Autolycus, of good family and condition, who in his youth had distinguished himself by a gymnastic victory, had in some way or other offended Callibius, who, according to the Spartan usage, raised his truncheon to strike him. But Autolycus, not yet inured to such discipline, prevented the blow by bringing him to the ground. Lysander, it is said, when Callibius complained of this affront, observed that he did not know how to govern freemen. He however understood the men with whom he had principally to deal; for the Thirty soon after gratified him by putting Autolycus to death.

In return for such deference he placed his troops at their disposal, to lead whom they would to prison: and now the catalogue of political offences was on a sudden terribly enlarged. The persons who were now singled out for destruction, were no longer such only as had made themselves odious by their crimes, or had distinguished themselves on former occasions by their op-

position to the ruling party, but men of unblemished character, without any strong political bias, who had gained the confidence of the people by their merits or services, and might be suspected of preferring a popular government to the oligarchy under which they were living. Xenophon seems to believe that Critias was inflamed with an insatiable thirst for blood by the remembrance of his exile. But it would appear that ambition and cupidity, rather than resentment, were the main springs of his conduct, and that he calculated with great coolness the fruits of his nefarious deeds. Nor was it merely political jealousy that determined his choice of his victims; the immediate profit to be derived from the confiscation of their property was at least an equally powerful inducement. It is uncertain to which of these motives we should refer the execution of Nice-ratus the son of Nicias, who shared his uncle's fate, but may have been involved in it more by his wealth than by his relation to Eucrates. It was perhaps on the like account, rather than because of the services which he had rendered to the people, that Antiphon, who during the war had equipt two galleys at his own expense, was now condemned to death.¹ And it was most probably with no other object that Leon, an inhabitant of Salamis, who seems to have been universally respected, and a great number of his townsmen, were dragged from their homes and consigned to the executioner. The case of Leon is particularly remarkable for the light it throws on the policy of the oligarchs. After the arrival of the Lacedæmonian garrison they had begun to dispense with the assistance of the council; and Leon was put to death without any form of trial. But they did not think it expedient always to employ the foreign troops on their

¹ This Antiphon has been confounded with the celebrated orator! One might have thought that, even if the manner in which he is described by Xenophon ii. 3. 40. had not been sufficient to guard any one possessing moderate powers of historical combination from so gross a mistake, it should have been prevented by the language of Thucydides, viii. 68., who says that Antiphon was brought to trial for the part he had taken in establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred. Could this have been a crime in the eyes of the Thirty?

murderous errands ; they often used Athenians as their ministers on such occasions, and men who did not belong to their party, for the purpose of implicating them in the guilt and odium of their proceedings. When they had resolved on the destruction of Leon, they sent for Socrates and four other persons, and ordered them to go and fetch him from Salamis. As his innocence was no less notorious than the fate which awaited him, Socrates, on leaving the presence of the Thirty, instead of obeying their commands, returned home. The rest executed their commission.

These atrocities soon began to spread general alarm ; for no one could perceive any principle or maxim by which they were to be limited for the future ; there was on the contrary reason to apprehend that they would be continually multiplied and aggravated. Theramenes, who was endowed with a keen tact which enabled him readily to observe the bent of public opinion, was early aware of the danger into which his colleagues were rushing ; and he remonstrated with Critias on the imprudence of creating themselves enemies by putting men to death for no other reason than because they had filled eminent stations, or performed signal services, under the democracy ; for it did not follow that they might not become peaceful and useful subjects of the oligarchy, since there had been a time when both Critias and himself had courted popular favour. But Critias contended that they were now in a position which they could only maintain by force and terror ; and that every man who had the means of thwarting their plans, and who was not devoted to their interest, must be treated as an enemy. This argument seems for the time to have satisfied Theramenes. But as the deeds of blood followed each other with increasing rapidity, and the murmurs of all honest citizens, though stifled in public, began to find vent in private circles, Theramenes again warned his colleagues, that it would be impossible for the oligarchy to subsist long on its present narrow basis. He wished that they might be able to dispense with the foreign

garrison, and foresaw that, if they persisted in their present course, they could never safely dismiss it. His advice now produced some effect on them ; but they seem to have been alarmed not so much by the danger which he pointed out as by the warning itself. They knew that he was a man who had never adhered to any party which he believed to be sinking, and suspected that he might be meditating to put himself at the head of a new revolution, as in the time of the Four Hundred. And though his character was so generally understood that he had acquired a homely nickname¹, which expressed the readiness with which he shifted his side, and the dexterity with which he adapted himself to every change of circumstances, still he might again become a rallying-point for the disaffected. To guard against this danger they determined to strengthen themselves by an expedient similar to that which had been adopted by the former oligarchy. They made out a list of 3000 citizens, who were to enjoy a kind of franchise which perhaps was never exactly defined ; but one of its most important privileges was, that none of them should be put to death without a trial before the council. All other Athenians were outlawed, and left to the mercy of the Thirty, who might deal as they thought fit with their lives and property.²

Theramenes objected to the new constitution, both on account of the small number of the privileged body, and its arbitrary limitation, which would shew that the selection did not proceed upon any ground of merit. Since they meant to govern by force, it was impolitic, he said, to establish such a disproportion between their strength and that of the governed. His objections were overruled, but not wholly neglected. They perhaps

¹ *Kóthogros* — a shoe which fitted either foot. Aristoph. *Ran.* 530. τὸ μεταστρεφεῖν πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον ὀξυῖός τε πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ εἴσι Θεραμενούς, cf. 2. 968. The allusion in Aristophanes seems directly to contradict Hinrichs, *De Theramenis, Criticæ, et Thrasybuli rebus*, who says p. 31. of Theramenes : "ubi factionem aliquam in civitate nimis crescere antisententiam mutasse videri volebat."

² If Dracontides was the author of this proposition, the language of *Lysias*, cited above p. 175., might admit of explanation.

suggested the precaution which was immediately afterwards adopted. Under pretext of a review all the citizens were deprived of their arms, except the Knights, and the Three Thousand, who were thus enabled to cope with the rest. The Thirty now believed themselves completely secure, and grew more and more reckless in the indulgence of their rapacity and cruelty. In the low state to which the Athenian finances were reduced the maintenance of the garrison was a burden which they found it difficult to support ; and, among other extraordinary means of raising supplies, it appears that they resorted to the spoliation of the temples.¹ But this was an expedient which probably required some caution and secrecy, and which could not be carried beyond certain limits. One which perhaps appeared both safer and more productive was suggested by Piso and Theognis, two of their number, who observed that several of the resident aliens were known to be ill affected to the oligarchy, and thus afforded an excellent pretext for plundering the whole class. They therefore proposed that each of the Thirty should have one of the wealthy aliens assigned to him, should put him to death, and take possession of his property. Theramenes very truly remarked, that the sycophants who had rendered the democracy odious to many, had never done anything so iniquitous as what was now contemplated by the persons who were used to style themselves the best sort of people², for they had never taken away both money and life ; and he apprehended with good reason that this measure would render the aliens generally hostile to the government. But his colleagues, after what they had already done, were not disposed to view this question on the moral side, and, having braved the hatred of their fellow-citizens, they were not afraid of provoking the aliens. The proposition was adopted ; and Theramenes

¹ Lysias c. Eratosth. p. 129. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ αὐτοὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπιδόντο, τὰ δ' ἐσιόντες ἱμῖαινον. Isocrates Arcopagit. 27. τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ αὐτῶ κομίσασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις . . . τοὺς δὲ τριακοντα τῶν μισοῦμένων, τὰ δὲ συλλήσαντας.

² Φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι.

was invited to single out his prey with the rest : but he refused to stain his hands with this innocent blood. It was however resolved to begin by taking ten lives ; and, for the sake of covering the real motive, two of the victims were to be poor men, who would therefore be supposed to have suffered for some political offence.

It is to one of the persons whose life was threatened by this nefarious scheme, that we owe a minute and lively description of one scene from the Athenian Reign of Terror. Cephalus, a Syracusan, had been induced by the persuasions of Pericles, and perhaps in part by the state of affairs in his native city, to migrate to Athens. Two of his sons, Polemarchus and Lysias, had afterwards joined the colonists sent out to Thurii, where Lysias, then a boy of fourteen, found an opportunity of cultivating his talent for oratory, under the guidance of eminent masters. When the disasters of the Athenians in Sicily had ruined their interest in all the Italian cities, Lysias and his brother were compelled to quit Thurii on the charge of *Atticism* (of taking the Athenian side in political questions) and they returned to Athens, which was then under the government of the Four Hundred, and continued to reside there to the time which our narrative has now reached. They carried on a flourishing manufacture of shields, in which they employed 120 slaves as workmen, and their opulence enabled them to contribute largely to the service of their adopted country : but it excited the cupidity of the Thirty, and their attachment to the Athenian interest, which had driven them from Thurii, was now no less accounted a crime at Athens. They were therefore selected among the first victims devoted to destruction on the motion of Piso and Theognis.

Piso himself, with Melobius and Mnesithides, undertook the seizing of Lysias and his property. They found Lysias at table with some guests, who were dismissed, and he was arrested by Piso, while the two others proceeded to the manufactory, to take possession of all that they found there. In their absence Lysias

prevailed on Piso by a bribe to promise to save his life. But Piso, notwithstanding the most solemn oaths, first seized all the gold in his coffers, of which he refused to let him keep a single piece for his journey, and then gave him up to the custody of Melobius and Mnesithides, who led him to the house of one Damnippus, where Theognis was guarding some other prisoners. Lysias was now consigned to the charge of Theognis; but while Damnippus, who happened to be his friend, was endeavouring to bribe Theognis, who was known to be no less ready than Piso to sacrifice the interests of his associates to his private gain, he made his escape, and took shelter in the house of a friend in Piræus. Here he learnt that Polemarchus had been arrested and dragged to prison by Eratosthenes; and in the course of the following night he embarked for Megara. But Polemarchus without being so much as informed of any charge — and indeed it does not appear that any was laid against him — was compelled to swallow the hemlock-draught — the ordinary mode of capital punishment, — and so rigorously was the confiscation of his property executed, that even his wife was stript of her earrings, and his friends were obliged to furnish the means of performing his exequies with decency.

Men who were capable of perpetrating such actions could not long endure the presence of an associate who refused to take his full share of their guilt and odium. The colleagues of Theramenes resolved to rid themselves of a troublesome monitor who might soon prove a dangerous opponent. They first endeavoured to communicate their distrust of his designs to the members of the council in private conversation, and then concerted a plan for an open attack on him. But to ensure its success they surrounded the council-chamber with a band of the most daring of their younger followers, armed with daggers, which they did not take much pains to conceal. Critias then came forward to accuse Theramenes, who was present. He vindicated the frequency of the late executions which some of the councillors

considered as excessive, and observed that in all revolutions such measures were necessary, but more than in any other when a populous city, which had been long used to democratical government, was brought under an oligarchy. The constitution which he and his colleagues had established was the only one that could gain the confidence of their benefactors, the Spartans, and that suited the interest of the best class, that to which they and the council belonged. Their policy therefore was to get rid of every one whom they perceived to be adverse to oligarchy; and they had the strongest of all reasons for so dealing with one of their own number who betrayed such sentiments; as was now the case with Theramenes. He had given the clearest proofs of his hostile disposition, by censuring their proceedings, and by thwarting every step which they took toward removing their adversaries. And he was not merely an enemy, but a traitor. For it was he who had drawn them into the engagements which they had contracted with Sparta; he was the author of the revolution by which the democracy had been overthrown. It was he who had instigated them to the first acts of just severity by which they had incurred the popular resentment. And now, thinking them in danger, he wished to secede from them, that he might provide for his own safety. This however was only a new instance of his old treachery. He had begun by betraying the people, which honoured and trusted him for his father's sake¹, into the hands of the Four Hundred, among whom he filled a conspicuous station. But he no sooner perceived symptoms of weakness in the oligarchy, than he deserted it, and placed himself at the head of the popular party. His fickleness indeed had become proverbial; and the ease with which he shifted his side had proved fatal to num-

¹ Κατὰ τὸ πατέρα Ἀγνωνα. Agnon however was only his father by adoption. He was a native of Ceos. Hence one of the allusions to his political versatility in Aristoph. Ran. 968. — ὅς ἐν κακοῖς τὸν τιμωρίαν, καὶ πλεονὸν παραστή, τίπτωκεν ἔξω τῶν κακῶν. οὐ Νῆος, ἀλλ' ἅ Κῆος ὅτι δεκάτ' προσ-
γχεῖσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ, Ἀγνωνος αὐτὸν τοιχαμίνου, ὡς Εἰπόλις Πόλιον.
Schol. Compare Plut. Nic. 2.

bers, whom he had first seduced into revolutions, and had afterwards abandoned. It was this same man who having failed to execute the orders of his commanders after the battle of Arginusæ, caused them to be put to death for omitting what it was his own duty to have done. A man so uniformly selfish and regardless of honour and friendship, was a fit object for the most rigorous justice ; and the punishment due to his offences was now indispensably necessary for the common safety. In the name therefore of the Thirty, Critias impeached him as a traitor, and an enemy to the constitution.

Theramenes made a defence, which, with respect to the charges of Critias, was in most points a satisfactory vindication of his conduct. As to the prosecution of the generals indeed, his statements, compared with Xenophon's narrative, seem to be made up of gross falsehoods. But he maintained his political consistency with a much fairer show of truth. He contended that he had proved himself to be a sincere friend to the existing oligarchy ; for the measures which he had opposed were such as tended to its destruction. He had approved of the punishment of the sycophants ; and on the same ground he had condemned the execution of innocent and respectable citizens, such as Leon, and Niceratus, and Antipho, and the seizure of the aliens : acts, which could only alienate honest men of all classes from the oligarchical government. He had remonstrated against depriving the bulk of the citizens of their arms, because he did not wish to see the city reduced to a state of weakness, in which it could not serve the purposes for which the Lacedæmonians had spared it. He had not agreed to the proposal for introducing the foreign garrison, because he thought that the government might have been better guarded by its own subjects. He had objected to the strengthening of their exiled enemies, as they had done, by passing sentence of banishment against men who, like Anytus, and Thrasybulus, and Alcibiades, were the most capable of conducting the other outlaws. The policy which he

had recommended was that which their adversaries would view with the greatest alarm, as fatal to their hopes. Nor had he ever departed from these principles. He had adhered to the government of the Four Hundred—which was established with the consent of the people, in order to incline the Spartans to peace—until he saw an attempt made by its leaders to betray the city to the enemy. In a word he was opposed alike to the abuses of an unlimited democracy, and to oligarchical oppression, and challenged Critias to show that he had ever favoured either. But he wished no less that the citizens who were most capable of serving the state should be united in its defence, than that others, whose indigence exposed their integrity to perpetual temptations, should be excluded from offices which afforded them opportunities of betraying their country¹.

These sentiments produced a very favourable impression on a majority of the council, who, as they did not share the spoil collected by the Thirty, would willingly have put a stop to their robberies and murders. A murmur of approbation, which ran through the assembly, warned Critias that he could not safely rely on its subserviency for the condemnation of Theramenes; and, after having conferred a few moments with his colleagues, he called in his armed auxiliaries, and stationed them round the railing within which the council sat. He then told the councillors, that he thought he should be wanting in the duty of his station, if he suffered his friends to be misled; and that the persons whom they now saw round them, also declared that they would not permit a man who was manifestly aiming at the ruin of the oligarchy to escape with impunity. Now by virtue of the new constitution none of the Three Thousand could be put to death except by a sentence of the council; but all who were not included in that list might

¹ Xenophon makes him say: "I have been always opposed to those who are content with no democracy, but one in which both slaves, and persons who are ready on account of their indigence to sell the city for a drachma, have a drachma to their share." A drachma was the daily pay of a member of the Council of Five Hundred.

be sent to execution without any form of trial by the Thirty. He therefore declared that, with the unanimous consent of his colleagues, he struck out the name of Theramenes from the list, and condemned him to death. Theramenes immediately rushed to the altar of Vesta, which stood in the middle of the room, and conjured the council not to allow Critias the right thus to dispose of his life and theirs, but to claim the benefit of a legal trial both for him and for themselves. "He was aware that the altar would not protect him, and had only fled to it, that the impiety of his enemies might be as manifest as their injustice; but he wondered that they who knew that their own names might just as easily be erased, should abandon him to the pleasure of Critias." The herald of the Thirty now summoned in the Eleven—the ministers of penal justice;—they entered with their attendants, headed by Satyrus, the most reckless and shameless among the satellites of the oligarchy. Critias bade them apprehend Theramenes, who had been lawfully condemned, and lead him away to punishment: and Satyrus and his followers proceeded to drag him from the altar in spite of his vehement obtestations. The councillors, who saw themselves surrounded by armed assassins, and even the outer door beset with troops, remained passive; and Theramenes was hurried across the agora, still loudly exclaiming against the treatment he suffered. Satyrus, it is said, would have stopped his outcries by a threat: "it should be the worse for him, if he did not hold his peace." "Will it be the better for me," Theramenes asked, "if I do?" When he had drunk the hemlock, he dashed the last drops on the ground, in imitation of a sportive convivial usage¹; to the health, as he said, of his beloved Critias.²

Xenophon admires the serenity and cheerfulness indicated by these sallies in the hour of death; but our

¹ The game of the *cottabues*, in which the player accompanied the sound of the falling liquor, which he threw into another vessel or on the ground, with the name of the object of his affections. See Schol. Arist. Pax 1244.

² Κριτίας τῷ κελεύ.

admiration of such a deportment must mainly depend on our opinion of the sufferer's previous conduct and character. In Theramenes we find much to condemn, and nothing to approve, except that he shrank from following his profligate associates in their career of wickedness. We should not have been inclined to question that this abstinence was the effect of his justice and humanity, if his conduct in the impeachment of the generals had not proved how capable he was of sacrificing both to his selfish interest. But even if he had not been guilty of baseness which deserves abhorrence, his imprudence would have forfeited his claims to our pity; for such blindness as his, in a statesman, becomes a crime. To correct the abuses of democracy he agreed to invest a small number of men — of whom he either knew nothing or knew that they were among the most unprincipled of mankind — with absolute power. He wished that they should use it with prudence and moderation, but had provided no means of regulating and restraining them, except a view of their own interest, in which they happened to differ from him. They preferred the indulgence of their passions to the security of their power; it was he who had enabled them to make the choice which he vainly censured. If he had reason to complain that they did not spare the author of their elevation¹, the other victims of their tyranny had much more cause to rejoice in his fate. He seems to have died unpitied by either of the parties whom he had alternately courted and abandoned.

His death released the Thirty — among whom it is probable that Satyrus was immediately chosen to supply his place — from the last restraints of fear or shame which had kept them within any bounds of decency; and they now proceeded to bolder and more thorough-going

¹ Lysias, Eratosth. p. 127., represents him as claiming this merit in his speech before the council — ἐνεδίξαν ὅτι πάντων τῶν τετραγμίστων αὐτός αἴτιος. — There are however no expressions to this effect in Xenophon's report. But Critias, as we have seen, used this as a topic for heightening the guilt of his apostasy — αἴτιος ἀρξαι τῆς πρὸς Λακιδαιμονίους φιλίας, αὐτός δὲ τῆς τοῦ δημοῦ καταλύσεως. Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 23.

measures. They emulated the ancient tyrants, who had often removed the lowest class of the commonalty, for whom it was difficult to find employment, from the capital into the country, and prohibited all Athenians who were not on the list of the Three Thousand from entering the city. But by the oligarchs this step seems not to have been adopted so much with a view to their safety, as to increase the facility of rapine and murder. They continued to send out their emissaries to seize the persons and confiscate the property of the citizens, who were now scattered by their decree over Attica. The greater part of the outcasts took refuge in Piræus; but when it was found that neither the populous town, nor their rural retreats, could shelter them from the inquisition of their oppressors, numbers began to seek an asylum in foreign cities; and Argos, Megara, and Thebes, were soon crowded with Athenian exiles.

The oligarchs, notwithstanding their Lacedæmonian garrison, and their reliance on Spartan protection, began to be alarmed at the state to which they had reduced themselves, and to dread the vengeance of their exiled enemies, who were waiting so near at hand for an opportunity of attacking them; and they applied to the Spartan government to interpose for the purpose of averting the danger. The Spartans, instigated perhaps by Lysander, issued an edict, which showed to what a degree they were intoxicated by prosperity. It empowered the Athenian rulers to arrest the exiles in every Greek city, and under a heavy penalty, forbade any one to interfere in their behalf. But this decree was no less impolitic than inhuman; it disclosed a domineering spirit, which could not but produce general alarm and disgust; but its object was beyond the reach of the Spartan power. At Argos and Thebes, and probably in other cities, the injunction and threat were disregarded; the exiles continued to find hospitable shelter. The Thebans more particularly took pains to manifest their contempt for the Spartan proclamation by a counter decree, directing that the persecuted Athenians should

be received in all the Bœotian towns ; that if any attempt should be made to force them away, every Bœotian should lend his aid to rescue them ; and that they should not be obstructed in any expedition which they might undertake against the party now in possession of Athens. This measure, though the spirit it breathes is so different from that in which the Theban commander had voted for the extirpation of the Athenian people, was not dictated either by justice or compassion toward Athens, but by jealousy and resentment toward Sparta. Very soon after the close of the war causes had arisen to alienate the Thebans from their old ally. They were always disposed to set a high value on the services which they had rendered to the Peloponnesian cause and now conceived that they had not been properly requited. They put forward some claims relating to the spoil collected at Decelea¹, and likewise to the treasure carried to Sparta by Lysander², which, chiefly it seems at his instance, had been resisted or neglected. Hence they could not without great dissatisfaction see Athens in the hands of Lysander's creatures. This feeling was, it must be supposed, encouraged by the democratical party at Thebes, which, though it had been kept under during the war, still subsisted, not without strength and hopes, and, in the turn which the public mind had now taken against Sparta, saw a prospect of recovering its ascendancy. And there is reason to believe, as we shall see more clearly in the sequel, that like causes now began to affect the state of parties at Corinth in a similar manner.

One of the men whom the Thirty had most cause to fear, and toward whom, in an early period of their reign, many eyes appear to have been turned at Athens in anxious expectation, was removed either before or soon after, the death of Theramenes. Alcibiades, according to the prevailing opinion, was sacrificed to the suspicions of the oligarchs. They had first, against the advice of Theramenes, condemned him to banishment, and then

¹ Xen. Hell. iii. s. 5. Justin. v. 11.

² Piut. Lys. 27.

seem to have apprehended that he might place himself at the head of the malcontents. After the day of *Ægospotami* he thought himself no longer safe in Europe, and, crossing over to Asia, took refuge at the court of *Pharnabazus*, and insinuated himself with his wonted address into his favour. The satrap granted the revenues of a Phrygian town for his maintenance. But *Alcibiades*, it is said, determined to go up to the royal residence, having made some discoveries as to the designs of *Cyrus*, which he believed would be acceptable to his brother *Artaxerxes* who was now on the throne, and it seems to have been at the outset of this journey that he was cut off by a violent death. A house in which he slept was set on fire in the night; and when he rushed out, he found himself surrounded by a band of barbarians, who despatched him with their missiles. But as to the immediate occasion of this event there was a great variety of contradictory reports among the ancients, from which it is now impossible to disentangle the truth. It was generally believed that the assassins were emissaries of *Pharnabazus*, under the command of his brother *Magaüs*, and his uncle *Susamithres*. But the satrap's motives were variously explained. Some attributed his conduct to his own jealousy of *Alcibiades*, others to the imperious demands of the Spartan government, which required the exile's life, either to secure itself and its Athenian friends or to gratify the animosity of *Agis*. *Alcibiades* was undoubtedly formidable and obnoxious enough to be the object of such a proceeding on the part of Sparta; but the compliance of *Pharnabazus* is not so easily reconciled with all that we know of his manly and open character. The other explanation however is still less probable. So that unless we should suppose that the murderers were in the pay of Sparta, we might be rather inclined to adopt another story mentioned by *Plutarch*, which attributed the death of *Alcibiades* to the revenge of some private persons whose sister he had dishonoured. He left a son of the same name, but of very inferior talents, and a fortune, which, notwithstanding the opportuni-

ties he had of enriching himself during the years in which he commanded with uninterrupted success on the coast of Asia, proved, contrary to the public expectation, smaller than the patrimony he received from his guardians.¹ As misfortune and difficulty commonly drew forth the highest powers of his mind, and the best features of his character, it is probable enough that the abrupt termination of his chequered career may have prevented the execution of designs more honourable to himself, and more useful to his country, than any plans of his early ambition.

Thrasybulus, like Alcibiades, had been formally banished by the Thirty; though it is not certain that he was at Athens when their government was established. He was however at Thebes when their furious tyranny began to drive the citizens by hundreds into exile; and the temper now prevailing at Thebes encouraged him to undertake the deliverance of his country. Having obtained a small supply of arms and money from his Theban friends, he crossed the border with a band of about seventy refugees, and seized the fortress of Phyle, which stood on an eminence projecting from the side of mount Parnes, — with which it was connected by a narrow ridge with precipitous sides, — twelve or thirteen miles from Athens. The fortifications had either escaped when the other Attic strongholds were demolished by the Thirty, or were soon restored to a defensible state. The oligarchs, confident that they should soon be able to crush so feeble an enemy, marched against them with the Three Thousand and their equestrian partisans, and as soon as they arrived at the foot of the hill of Phyle, ordered or permitted some of their younger troops, who were eager for the service, to attack the fortress. This assault however was repulsed, and they saw that it would be necessary to reduce the place by blockade. But a heavy fall of snow compelled them to abandon their design, and to return to the city. Their retreat, if it was not, as Diodorus describes it, accompanied with a

¹ Lysias, De Aristoph. Bon. p. 156.

panic, seems to have been ill conducted. Thrasybulus and his little band fell upon their rear, and cut off a number of the camp followers, and probably made themselves masters of part of the baggage. Though however the state of the weather rendered a siege for the present impracticable, the Thirty deemed it expedient to check the excursions which the garrison might be emboldened to make into the interior, and sent out the Lacedæmonian auxiliaries with two squadrons of horse to encamp about two miles from Phyle. Thrasybulus had by this time been reinforced by so many other exiles that he found himself at the head of 700 men. With this force he came down from Phyle in the night, and halted unobserved about half a mile from the enemy. The ground which they had chosen for their encampment was covered with wood or bushes, which perhaps favoured his design of surprising them. At daybreak, at the most unguarded hour, just after the men had risen, and were for the most part dispersed, at a distance from their arms¹, he fell upon them, killed 120 of the infantry, and put the rest to flight, and pursued them for a mile. Then, after erecting a trophy and collecting all the arms he could find on the scene of his victory, he returned to Phyle, before a fresh body of horse, which was sent from the city, as soon as his exploit was known there, arrived.

The Thirty now began to be alarmed at the boldness and success of Thrasybulus, and thought it advisable to take precautions for securing themselves against the consequences of any further reverses. They saw that they might possibly be dislodged from Athens, and determined to provide themselves with another place of refuge. Perhaps Critias already perceived that he could not depend on all his colleagues, and he seems to have been the principal contriver of the atrocious plan which was now adopted. He and his colleagues, attended by

¹ Οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκαστος. Schneider's alteration of the text, both in this passage and in vii. 1. 16. (except that in the latter ἐταί is required seems entirely to pervert Xenophon's meaning. It is strange that he should not have scented the euphemism.

their cavalry, proceeded to Eleusis, with the professed intention of inspecting and registering the military force of the place, under the pretext of providing for its defence. Their followers were posted by the seaside, near a postern through which the devoted Eleusinians—who were citizens of the best condition—were ordered to pass, and were all arrested as they came out of the town. When they were secured, Critias and his band crossed over to Salamis, and acted a similar scene there. The prisoners taken in both places amounted together to about 300.¹ They were all carried to Athens, and committed to the custody of the Eleven. The next day the citizens both of the infantry and the cavalry were summoned to meet in the Odeum, which was partly occupied by the Lacedæmonian garrison. Critias addressed them in a short speech, reminding them that they were no less concerned in the preservation of the constitution they enjoyed than himself and his colleagues, and that, as they partook of the privileges it conferred, they must not shrink from their share in the risk of defending it. He therefore called upon them to show their devotion to the common cause, by condemning the prisoners to death; and pointed out a place where they were openly to declare their sentence. It was passed unanimously against the prisoners, though with reluctance by all but the most abandoned ministers of the tyranny; and they were all executed.

Thrasybulus was now encouraged by his successes and his growing numbers to a bolder attempt. Four days after his victory he descended from Phyle with 1000 men, and marched by night into Piræus, where he found the whole population of the place ready to aid him. The oligarchs immediately assembled their forces, horse and foot, and issued from the city. Thrasybulus seeing the circuit of Piræus too large to be defended by his troops, did not attempt to repel the enemy, but awaited his approach on a road which led up the hill of Munychia. The army of the Thirty advanced un-

¹ Lysias, Eratosth. p. 125. Agorat. p. 133.

resisted through the heart of Piræus till it reached the foot of this hill, where it was compressed by the nature of the ground into a phalanx of fifty deep. In front of it, the heavy infantry of Thrasybulus filled up the breadth of the road, but only stood ten deep. Behind them however, on the upper part of the declivity, were stationed the light troops, dartmen and slingers, in great numbers; for as the population of Piræus was all friendly, few perhaps who could find missiles of any kind were absent. As the enemy approached Thrasybulus came forward, and animated his men by the recollection of their recent success and the prospect of a just vengeance, pointing to the ranks which they had routed but a few days before, and to the tyrants by whom they had been deprived of property, homes, friends, kinsmen, and all things included in the name of country. These merciless oppressors the divine justice had at length delivered into their hands, crowded together in a position where they would be a butt for the missiles showered on them from above, and would be unable to return one with effect. He exhorted them to seize the propitious moment, in which victory was certain, and death glorious.

He was attended by a soothsayer who showed a spirit worthy of a descendant of Codrus. He enjoined his friends not to begin the onset till one of their side should be slain or wounded, and assured them that the result would be happy for them, though fatal to himself. To fulfil his own prediction he rushed forward, and fell, charging the advancing foe. The battle then began. The troops of the Thirty could not long sustain the shower of missiles, and the pressure from the higher ground, and were put to flight and pursued into the plain. The slaughter was much less than might have been expected under such circumstances, and was probably restrained by the humanity of the victors. Only seventy of the common men in the defeated army were killed; but the day was rendered memorable by the death of Critias, his colleague Hippomachus and his

kinsman Charmides, one of the Ten of Piræus. The conquerors, with a noble tenderness, abstained from stripping their slain countrymen, except of the arms which they themselves so much needed. The restitution of the bodies led to an interchange of words between the adverse ranks : and Cleocritus the herald of the Mysteries, who was gifted with a voice of extraordinary power, took the opportunity of proclaiming silence, and then of addressing an affecting remonstrance, on the part of his friends the exiles, to their adversaries. "Why," he asked, "do you drive us from our homes? why seek the blood of your fellow citizens, of men who have never wronged you, who have shared with you your holiest sanctuaries and sacrifices, your most cheerful festivals, the pleasures and pursuits of peace, the dangers of war? In the name of every tie, of religion, kindred, friendship, which binds us together, no longer neglect your duty to our common country for the sake of serving miscreants who have shed more Athenian blood in the course of eight months than the Peloponnesians in ten years of war: who, when we might have lived together in peace, have forced us into an impious and unnatural combat, which has cost lives, over which we who took them have wept perhaps not less than you who have lost them."

There was so much of reason as well as of feeling in this expostulation, that the commanders on the opposite side dreaded its effect on their troops, and led them back to the city. The events of the day, especially the death of Critias, unfolded the germs of discord among the Thirty and their adherents. There were some of the Thirty who were not quite so violent as their colleagues, and among the Three Thousand the majority, having kept clear of a direct participation in the rapine and bloodshed of the preceding period, though desirous of preserving their power and privileges, were willing to change the men and measures which had rendered them odious. Accordingly an assembly was held, in which the Thirty were deposed, and a new College of Ten — one from each tribe — appointed in their stead. Two

of the Thirty, Phido and Eratosthenes, were members of the new college ; the rest retired with their most devoted partisans to Eleusis.

The men who were thus raised to power were known, according to Lysias, to have been bitter enemies of Critias ; and it was therefore expected that this revolution would have been attended by an accommodation with the exiles ; and Phido in particular is said to have been chosen for the express purpose of bringing about such an agreement. But it was soon discovered that these hopes were groundless, and that the new rulers were not less bent on overpowering the exiles in Piræus, than on excluding the faction of Eleusis. Thrasybulus therefore continued to make preparations for prosecuting his success. His followers were now more numerous than the enemy ; but they wanted arms. The deficiency however was gradually supplied by the liberal contributions of the wealthier citizens, and by the active ingenuity of the rest. Aliens were invited into their service by offers of civil immunities. Among others Lysias, out of the wreck of his fortune, with the help perhaps of foreigners who wished well to the cause — Thrasydæus, the leader of the democratical party at Elis, is said to have advanced him two talents — supplied his friends with 200 shields, and with 2000 drachmas, and as we are informed on the same authority even hired 300 mercenaries.¹ Shields of wood or wicker, whitened over, were substituted by some for metal armour ; and by such expedients, in the course of ten days, a numerous body both of heavy and light infantry was ready to take the field, and was supported by a squadron of seventy horse. They now began to make foraging excursions every day from Piræus. On the other hand the party in the city was stronger in cavalry, which it employed to check and annoy the exiles, but did not any longer venture — perhaps through fear of desertion rather than of the enemy's numbers — to lead out its infantry. Lysimachus, the commander of the city cavalry, who

¹ Pseudo-Plut. Vit. X. Orator.

had been employed by the Thirty in their expedition to Eleusis, and remained in office under the new government, provoked the resentment of the exiles, and even disgusted many of his own followers, by a wanton massacre of some countrymen whom he found on their way from Piræus to their own farms in quest of provisions; but the incensed party seems to have confined itself to a single act of retaliation on the person of Callistratus one of the knights.¹ It was however every day gaining new strength and spirit, and even ventured to bring engines against the walls; and, to retard its approaches, the engineer of the besieged barricaded the road leading to city from the Lyceum with great blocks of stone.

The danger now appeared so pressing, that the Ten resolved to apply for protection to Sparta, and Phido was deputed to solicit assistance there. It would seem as if the fear of their common enemy had induced the Athenian oligarchs to compose their differences with those of Eleusis; for envoys were sent, at the same time, and with the like objects, to Sparta, by the Eleusinian faction. Phido endeavoured to interest the jealousy of the Spartan government on behalf of his associates, by suggesting that the success of Thrasybulus would subject Athens to the Bœotians, and he requested a fresh body of Lacedæmonian auxiliaries. Lysander, who was at this time at Sparta, supported the application with all his credit; and though the government declined to send out an army, he succeeded in procuring himself to be appointed harmost, and empowered to raise troops for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection, while his brother Libys was created admiral, and was ordered to blockade Piræus: and he obtained a loan from the Spartan treasury of 100 talents for Phido's colleagues. He himself repaired to Eleusis, and soon attracted a large body of Peloponnesian troops into his service; for the military adventurers, who made war their pro-

¹ It would be a remarkable and significant circumstance, if this was the Callistratus who is said to have introduced the payment of an obolus for attendance in the popular assembly. See Bœckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, ii. 14.

fession, now began to abound in all parts of Greece. He was thus enabled to confine the exiles within Piræus, while his brother, with his squadron, prevented them from receiving supplies by sea. They now saw no prospect before them but a repetition of the miseries which had preceded the capitulation of Athens, terminated in like manner by a surrender, which would expose them utterly unprotected to the vindictive cruelty of their exasperated adversaries.

Their deliverance came from a quarter to which they could least have looked for it. The success, fame, honours, and influence, of Lysander had excited jealousy, and perhaps alarm, in several of the leading men at Sparta. Even the kings and ephors felt themselves reduced to comparative insignificance by his side. His new expedition against the Athenian exiles appeared to his rivals an enterprise in which the state had no interest, and which could only serve his private ends, by showing the importance of his patronage to the faction now ruling at Athens. Though therefore he had carried his point at Sparta so far as to obtain the permission he desired, his opponents were still bent on thwarting his designs, and the more eagerly the nearer he seemed to the accomplishment of his object. Pausanias, the colleague of Agis, was foremost among them, and after Lysander's departure concerted measures with three of the ephors for baffling his enterprise. They did not think it prudent openly to announce any change in the policy of Sparta toward the Athenian parties, but agreed to send Pausanias at the head of an army into Attica, avowedly for the purpose of co-operating with Lysander, but with the secret intention of defeating his work. The king accordingly summoned all the forces of the confederacy to follow him into the field, and collected a large army; but his real object was so well concealed, that Corinth and the Bœotian states refused to join him with their forces, alledging that they thought the invasion of Attica an act of unprovoked aggression, and contrary to the treaty which they had ratified. Pausanias however

marched into Attica, and encamped near Piræus, as if to carry on the siege in conjunction with Lysander. His first step was to send a message to the chiefs of the exiles, bidding them disband their forces ; but as he did not think fit at once to disclose his friendly intentions, they refused so to put themselves in his power. He then made a feint of attempting to storm the town, but retired at the first show of resistance, and the next day advanced, with two brigades of the Lacedæmonian infantry, and three squadrons of the Athenian horse, toward what was called the Close Harbour, with the professed design of reconnoitring the ground with a view to circumvallation. But as he was retiring after having inspected this side of the town, he was attacked by a party of the besieged, who gave him so much annoyance, that he was obliged to send his cavalry and a detachment of the heavy-armed foot, to drive them in, while he himself followed with the rest of his troops. His men killed about thirty of the enemy, and pursued them into the town as far as the theatre of Piræus, where the main body of the refugee forces was assembled. Their targeteers immediately began a brisk attack on the Lacedæmonians, who were forced to retreat received many wounds, and lost some of their officers. Observing this success of his light troops, Thrasybulus advanced to the charge with his heavy infantry, and compelled Pausanias to fall back for about half a mile on a rising ground, where he halted, and ordered the other divisions of his army to join him. Thus reinforced, and having formed a phalanx of unusual depth, he led it against the Athenians, who barely sustained his onset, and were routed with the loss of 150 men. Pausanias raised a trophy, but had no intention of following up his victory. He secretly sent another message to the exiles, directing them to depute some of their number to himself and the ephors who accompanied him, and suggested the language which it would be expedient for their envoys to use. At the same time knowing that there was in the city a party desirous of peace, he encouraged them to

meet in the largest number they could collect, and to address him with a public declaration of their pacific sentiments.

It was probably on the same occasion that Diognetus, a kinsman of Nicias, appeared in the Lacedæmonian camp, with the orphan children of Niceratus, and of Eucrates, and placing the infant son of Niceratus, on the king's knees, and the others by his side, implored his protection against the oligarchs who had bereaved them of their natural guardians.¹ This scene was perhaps contrived by Pausanias for the purpose of exciting the indignation of the allies against Lysander's friends, who, while they pretended to purge the city of the vile informers and extortioners, who had afflicted and disgraced it, had not even spared a family so eminent for rank, wealth, its services to Athens, and its merits toward Sparta, as that of Nicias. The spectacle at least produced a powerful impression on the bystanders, and enforced the arguments and petitions of the envoys; and Pausanias, with the approbation of the ephors, and perhaps of the whole army, except Lysander and his partisans, concluded an armistice with the exiles, and sent their deputies, as well as those of the party opposed to the measures of the government in the city, to plead their cause at Sparta. The Ten, when they heard of this embassy, sent ministers of their own to counteract it, who were instructed to declare, that they resigned themselves and the city to the absolute disposal of the Spartans, and to urge that, if their adversaries professed to be equally loyal to Sparta, they ought to be called upon to surrender Piræus and Munychia. But this suggestion was disregarded; and the representations of Pausanias had now more weight in the Spartan councils than the wishes of Lysander. After all the envoys had been heard by the ephors in the ordinary assembly, fifteen commissioners were appointed with full authority, in conjunction with Pausanias, to compose the differences of the Athenian parties. The terms which they pre-

¹ Lysias, *Pro Niciæ* Fr. p. 150.

scribed were liberal and wise. They published a general reconciliation, secured by a complete amnesty, from which none were excluded but the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten who had been governors of Piræus. They however, and all other citizens who might fear to return to Athens, were to be allowed to live unmolested at Eleusis. The Spartans perhaps thought that they might there be still useful instruments for curbing the independence of Athens. The treaty was ratified both between the antagonist parties, and as an engagement contracted by them with Sparta, which thus guaranteed its execution. When it was concluded, Pausanias disbanded his forces; and the exiles entered the city in triumph, and marched up under arms to the citadel, to render a thanksgiving sacrifice to the tutelary goddess. An assembly was then held, in which the citizens once more met as in former days — not indeed with the feelings or prospects of past times, but still again united as one people, freed from domestic tyranny, with some new titles to glory of a purer kind than they had earned by most of their ancient victories, and not without hopes that, when the wounds inflicted by war and civil discord should be healed, their country might recover some portion of her pristine vigour. The little piece of stiff and meagre rhetoric which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Thrasybulus on this occasion, seems indeed miserably unworthy both of it and of him. But it probably embraces two of the leading topics on which he dwelt; for as he would not forbear from expressing the exultation belonging to such a triumph of the righteous cause, he assuredly took this opportunity of inculcating a strict observance of the conditions which provided for the safety of the vanquished party, and for the tranquillity of the state.

Still peace could not be said to be completely restored, so long as a remnant of the most violent oligarchical faction continued to occupy Eleusis, harbouring implacable animosity, and restless hopes of recovering their power; and for several months after the return of the

exiles they were thus threatened by the survivors of the Thirty, and the staunchest of their adherents. It is not very easy to reconcile the statements of Lysias and Xenophon on this subject. But perhaps we may collect from the orator¹, that the oligarchs, seeing that they could no longer expect aid from Sparta, endeavoured to engage other Greek cities in their cause ; but their conduct had excited general disgust, and they were expelled from several states by public proclamation. Still they did not drop their projects of ambition and revenge, but began to collect a body of mercenaries at Eleusis, for the purpose of renewing the civil war. The Athenian government sent out the whole force of the city to crush this enterprise ; and Xenophon intimates that the oligarchical leaders were drawn into a conference, and put to death. But as he has forbore to mention any of the particulars of this transaction, about which we have no better information from any other source, we would fain hope that the final triumph of the popular cause was not sullied by deliberate treachery. It was certainly signalised in all other respects by wise moderation and exemplary good faith. The seceders, who had many friends and relatives in the city, were induced through their mediation to accept an offer of reconciliation, and to return home ; and they were all comprehended in a new act of amnesty, which was as faithfully observed as it was magnanimously granted. The merit of the former was at least shared by the Spartans ; the last belonged entirely to Thrasybulus and his friends.

¹ Eratosth. p. 123.

CHAP. XXXII.

RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY OF THE INTERNAL CONDITION
OF ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, CAR-
RIED FORWARD TO THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES
BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA.

THE state of Athens after the expulsion of the Thirty was in some respects apparently less desolate than that in which she had been left after the battle of Platæa. It is possible indeed that the invasions of Xerxes and Mardonius may have inflicted less injury on her territory than the methodical and lingering ravages of the Peloponnesians during the Decelean war. But in 479 the city, as well as the country, had been, for a part of two consecutive years, in the power of an irritated enemy. All that it required both for ornament and defence was to be raised afresh from the ground. Yet the treasury was empty: commerce had probably never yet yielded any considerable supplies, and it had been deeply disturbed by the war; the state possessed no dependent colonies or tributary allies, and was watched with a jealous eye by the most powerful of its confederates. Nevertheless it was impossible for an Athenian patriot to compare the situation and prospects of his country at these two epochs without a sigh. In 479 Athens was mistress of a navy which gave her the pre-eminence over all the maritime states of Greece, and enabled her to carry her arms against any part of the enemy's coasts, to which she might be invited by the prospects of plunder or conquest; and a little vigour and prudence was sufficient to secure the city itself against the hostility of Sparta. The exertions and sacrifices by which she had weakened herself, had also made her formidable to the

barbarians, and had won for her the admiration, goodwill, and confidence of the Grecian world. In 403 the city indeed stood untouched, except so far as the temples had been deprived of their ornaments and treasures by domestic spoilers. But its magnificence only attested the past greatness which seemed to have sunk for ever. All the sources of public and private wealth, except such as depended on a poor and wasted territory, and on the industry of individuals, were dried up. Not only were all those branches of the revenue which arose out of the sovereignty once exercised by Athens completely cut off—the influx of tribute, a great part of the fees of justice, the expenditure of the numerous foreigners who were drawn as suitors to the imperial city—but Athenian citizens whose property lay abroad, as appears to have been the case with a large class¹, were either wholly deprived of it, or were obliged in their turn to prosecute their claims, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, at foreign tribunals. Commerce had not only been interrupted by the blockade, but had sustained still greater detriment from the tyranny of the Thirty, which had crushed or scared away the most opulent and industrious of the aliens: and the cloud which continued to hang over the prospects of the state, even after freedom and tranquillity had been restored, tended to discourage those who might have been willing to return. The public distress was such that it was with the greatest difficulty the council could provide ways and means for the ordinary expenses.² Even the ancient sacrifices prescribed by the sacred canons were intermitted, because the treasury could not furnish three talents for their celebration³: and the repayment of a loan of two talents which had been

¹ Andoc. De Pace, p. 25, *τα ἐκτὴματα καὶ τὰ χεῖρα*. Xenoph. De R. A. i. 19. *κτήσεις ἐν τοῖς ἑτεροῖσι*, and Conviv. iv. 31.

² Lysias Nicom. p. 187.

³ Lysias l. c. *πίευσιν ἑρὰ ἄθροτα τριῶν ταλάντων γέγινται τῶν ἐν τοῖς κέρεσι γερραμμένων*. Bremi on this passage, and Schneider on Xen. De R. A. iii. 8., conclude from it that three talents was the whole sum allowed by Solon for the public sacrifices of the year. Boeckh considers it as the cost of a single sacrifice, Public Econ. of Ath. ii. 12.

advanced by the Thebans, probably in aid of the exiles¹, was so long delayed through the same cause, that hostilities were threatened for the purpose of recovering the debt. The navy of Athens had now sunk to a fourth of that which she had maintained before the time of Solon, and it was limited to this footing by a compact which could not be broken or eluded without imminent danger; Piræus was again unfortified: the arsenal was in ruins²: even the city walls needed repairs, which could not be undertaken for want of money; and on all sides were enemies who rejoiced in her humiliation, and were urged both by their passions and interests to prevent her from again lifting up her head.

We have already endeavoured to point out the connection of the principal steps which led to this calamitous reverse, and we traced them to the policy of Pericles, though not so as to exclude the operation of causes which no human foresight could have guarded against. We must now take a nearer view of the manner in which his system worked, and of the changes it underwent during this period; and we shall be led to contemplate some features in the intellectual progress of Athenian society, which were intimately connected with this portion of its political history.

Pericles made few, if any, innovations in the Athenian constitution. The importance of the changes which he introduced into the jurisdiction of the Areopagus has probably been much exaggerated through the heat of the contest which they excited at the time. But the influence of his administration continued to be long felt—perhaps we may say never ceased to manifest itself—in the spirit of the government, and the views and tastes of the people. The power of the popular assembly, on which his own was founded, had already in his lifetime reached its utmost extent, and was henceforth only capable of restriction. But the composition and character of the Assembly were considerably affected by the events

¹ See Plut. Lys. 27.

² But see above, p. 180. Demosth. c. Aristocr. p. 659. mentions the *κρηναὶ* as if they had suffered little damage.

of the war, and by the manner in which it was conducted under his system. We have already observed that one of the consequences which arose from the ravages of the pestilence, was that foreigners found it easy to gain admission to the franchise, either by legal means or through artifice and connivance. The latter class of cases appears to have been the commonest, as is indicated by the great number of distinguished persons whom we find charged with this kind of fraud ; and it is probable that these new citizens crept in chiefly from the lower ranks. What proportion they bore to those of genuine Attic blood, it is impossible to determine. But the same facility either of evading the law, or of obtaining the franchise by favour of the people, seems to have subsisted throughout the war. A much more important change however in the elements of which the assembly was ordinarily composed was produced by the measures of Pericles, which drove a large part of the rural population into the city, where few could find employment, and most of them sank into the lowest class of the Athenian populace. The number of citizens of the higher and middle order who were usually absent from Athens in the fleets, armies, and garrisons, must likewise be taken into account, when we are estimating the effects of the war on the character of the assembly ; and it may be added that the weight of the public burdens was continually depressing all private fortunes, except those which were raised by dishonest arts, to a lower level, and reduced many to indigence. That in the course of the war the poorer class began to preponderate, seems to be indicated by an innovation which took place probably toward the end of this period, though we do not know either its precise date, or any thing more of its author, Callistratus, than his name, which was one common to several Athenians of this age.¹ To him is ascribed the introduction of pay for attendance in the assembly ; and whether the object of this measure was to provide for the more regular transaction of public busi-

¹ See Boeckh, *Public Econ. of Ath.* ii. 14.

ness, or merely to gratify the multitude, it was alarming as a symptom, and baneful in its consequences. The remuneration which each member of the sovereign body received for the exercise of his functions, under the law of Callistratus, was no more than a single obolus. It would seem to follow that the persons to whom this trifling sum held out such an attraction as might be expected to secure their presence, formed either a majority, or a very considerable part of every Assembly.

We may however be in danger of drawing very erroneous inferences from these facts, if we do not bear in mind, that at Athens the wealthy citizens possessed few peculiar advantages of education, and that poverty was accounted an evil indeed, but not a disgrace.¹ The poorest Athenian had means of refining his taste, cultivating his understanding, and acquiring information concerning public affairs, superior to those enjoyed by the great mass of persons in the middle class among ourselves. The Assembly, the courts of justice, the theatres, the market-place, the *lesche*, were so many schools of practical knowledge, as well as of eloquence and wit, which were open to all alike, and were perhaps most frequented by the lowest class. And in fact it is not to the ignorance or incapacity of the sovereign body that the mistakes committed in the management of the war are to be ascribed. There is another point connected with this subject on which prejudices have sometimes been entertained, which it may be useful to correct. The character of Pericles was so noble, that the sway which he exercised was no less honourable to the people than to himself. But among the popular leaders who succeeded him we find several who are represented as men of low, and even servile origin, mean condition, slender abilities, coarse manners, and profligate conduct. And their ascendancy may be thought to prove the growing degeneracy of the people, or the predominance of a similar class of persons in the Assembly. But there are

¹ So Pericles in Thucyd. ii. 40. ὁ κίνεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τιμὴν αἰσχρὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ αἰσχρίαν.

two errors which we have to guard against with respect to these demagogues. In the first place, it is probable that we are used to view them in a false light, and that they were not in general so despicable as, through the force of certain associations, we are apt to consider them. Many of them indeed were engaged in trade. Thus Lysicles and Eucrates, who rose for a short time to some degree of political eminence immediately after the death of Pericles, dealt, the one in cattle¹, the other in flax and bran²: Cleon was a tanner, Hyperbolus a lamp-maker³, Cleophon a manufacturer of lyres.⁴ Their occupations afforded a topic of ridicule to their contemporaries, and are often treated as a sufficient evidence of their unfitness for the part which they took in public business. Some of their names indeed cannot be rescued from infamy. Hyperbolus labours under the charge not only of political profligacy, but of private dishonesty in the exercise of his trade⁵; and the epithet which Thucydides applies to him⁶, implies that he was capable of any baseness: nor have we any reason to believe that his want of probity was covered by any shining or useful talents. But as far as we know there was nothing in his station or in that of the rest to exclude the highest qualifications of an Athenian statesman. It seems rather to deserve notice as a proof of the tenacity of aristocratical prejudices, that, in such a state as Athens, no earlier instance occurs in which candidates for public favour came forward from the same rank: that the people could be expected to join in the laugh raised at the expense of the demagogues on this ground: and that even after the Peloponnesian war, Andocides should be found de-

¹ Lysicles, ὁ προβατόπώλης Schol. Aristoph. Equ. 132. who mentions a Callias who was by some supposed to be alluded to by the poet. But Lysicles is elsewhere described as ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν κατὸν. Plut. Nic. 2.

² Σπυραιοπώλης (hence nicknamed σπυραῖς κτερεὶς πώλης μελίσσας) Schol. Aristoph. Equ. 129, 253, 254.

³ Λυχνόποιος, λυχνόπώλης: according to Schol. Arist. Equ. 1301. κίτταυς: but this is perhaps a false conjecture of Schol. Arist. Nub. 1061.

⁴ Λυραιοποιός.

⁵ He is said to have mixed lead with the copper of his lamps, to cheat his customers. Schol. Ar. Nub. 1061.

⁶ viii. 73. μοχλῶν ἀνθρώπων. So Aristoph. Equ. 1301. μοχλῶν πολέτης ἄνθρωπος Ὑπέρβολος.

ploring the dishonour which had befallen his hereditary mansion, when during his absence it was inhabited by Cleophon the *lyre-maker*.¹ But it must be remembered that, according to the expression of the Roman satyrist, Lysias and Demosthenes were brought up at the forge.² Cleon himself was probably no contemptible orator, and Thucydides did not scruple to put a very artful and dignified harangue in his mouth: and if Lysicles, by means of an union which he contracted with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became in any sense the first of the Athenians³, notwithstanding the meanness of his extraction his mind cannot have been previously uncultivated.

The contrast therefore between Pericles and the demagogues who succeeded him may not have been in this respect so glaring as has been commonly supposed.⁴ On the other hand the nature of their popularity has frequently been misrepresented, and the extent of their power overrated. The influence of Pericles was grounded partly indeed on the measures by which he courted popular favour—which would have been equally agreeable if they had been proposed by any other man—but still more on the rare qualities of his genius and his character: on his eloquence, his military talents, his political experience, his prudence, his integrity, his serenity and greatness of soul. It was thus that he was enabled permanently to control the Assembly, and sometimes successfully to resist its declared wishes. No man ever appeared after him at the head of affairs who combined so many claims to general confidence and respect. But with regard to the demagogues who succeeded him in the period which we are now reviewing, it is clear that, with

¹ Myst. p. 19.

² Juvenal, x. 130.

³ Æschines (the Socratic) in Plut. Nic. 2.

⁴ It deserves to be remarked, that the Scholiast of Aristophanes, in a note which seems to have been drawn from good sources (Pax. 680) observes that it was with Hyperbols the Athenians began to commit the administration of their affairs to worthless persons (φαῦλοις, πρῶτον δημαγωγούντων πᾶν λαμπρῶν πολιτῶν) who would thus seem to include, Lysicles, Eucrates, and Cleon himself—for it is said before: οὗτος μὲν τῆς τοῦ Κλειῶνος διασπαστικῆς διεδίδαστο τῆς δημαγωγίας.

one exception, none of them possessed any personal influence, or was indebted for the degree of favour he enjoyed to any other instruments than the arts with which he flattered the passions of the people. The Athenians seem very well to have understood the character of their servants and courtiers, and, even when they were following the worst guidance, not to have bestowed their good-will and esteem upon unworthy objects. Nicias and Cleon, though neither of them in any respect equalled Pericles, may be considered as representing, one the better, the other the worse side of his public character and policy. The boisterous, impudent, dishonest, ferocious, demagogue often, perhaps generally, prevailed in the assembly over the calm, prudent, and upright statesman; but it was not because he stood highest in public opinion. As the history of the Sicilian expedition shows that the merits of Nicias were at least not underrated, so the scene which gave occasion to the expedition against Sphacteria, proves that the people were not blind to Cleon's worthlessness. The tradition that the ostracism fell into disuse, because it was universally considered as degraded when it had been employed to expel Hyperbolus, indicates perhaps still more strongly the estimation in which he was held. Such men were only favourites with the multitude, because they ministered fuel to its vices. The man whose personal influence was greatest, the only one who was regarded with a feeling of fondness, which even the deepest injuries could never entirely extinguish, was a demagogue of a very different stamp the noble, refined, accomplished Alcibiades. It would be hard to reproach the Athenians with a partiality which Socrates was not ashamed to acknowledge; yet the counsels of Alcibiades led them into measures more injurious to their interest and their honour, than any which were ever proposed by Cleon, or Hyperbolus, or Cleophon: for he was the author of the Sicilian expedition, and the Melian massacre.¹

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 361. where a reference should have been added to Andocides, Alcib. p. 32.

But it was the very calamity of the times that no extraordinary abilities, or eminent merit of any kind, were needed to pursue the track which had been opened by Pericles; the vilest and feeblest demagogue might easily go beyond him in the same course, and could thus gain the ear of the assembly, and acquire an habitual ascendancy over it. The smallest of the evils which ensued was, that the people grew more and more extravagant in its aims, elated with a more presumptuous confidence, more impatient of resistance to its will, and more furious in its resentment against those who opposed it. A still more pernicious result was, that the public affairs were conducted on a false principle, that the real and permanent interests of the whole commonwealth were postponed to the apparent and temporary advantage of a class, the largest indeed, but still only one, which was thus placed in a hostile position toward the wealthier citizens, who felt themselves burdened and aggrieved, and became on that account objects of a well-founded distrust, as disaffected to a government in which they had so little share, and from which they suffered such harsh treatment.¹ Even in time of peace the rich Athenian was somewhat heavily taxed for the mere amusement of the less opulent, under the system of *liturgies*: the name given at Athens to those public services which demanded both money and personal attention, and which was often accompanied with much trouble and anxiety, from the contributor. We will not trespass on a field of antiquarian learning which has been very fully and ably explored, to repeat any of the details belonging to this copious subject. We shall only observe that the theatrical, musical and gymnastic exhibitions, and other

¹ A humorous picture of the advantages which poverty enjoyed over wealth at Athens is given by Xenophon in his Banquet, iv. 30. under the person of Charmides (probably a different person from the cousin of Critias) who had experienced both conditions, having been deprived of his property abroad (*τὰ ὑπερβολὰ*) and of the enjoyment of his estates in Attica (*τὰ ἱγυρία*) by the war. This has been treated as a very important testimony by several writers who have neglected to mention that at the end Charmides being asked by his host whether he does not pray that he may never be rich again, answers: "Not so; I am very ready to run the risk."

recreations connected with the religious festivals, which at Athens were more numerous than in any other Greek city¹, were all so many occasions on which some or other of the wealthy citizens,—according to an order determined by the law, which provided for the equable distribution of the burden, as well as for the performance of the duty²,—were responsible, with their purse and their time, for some essential part of the entertainment expected by the people. Yet the weight of this impost, though it was sufficient to press sensibly even on the largest fortunes, was relieved by its graceful and liberal form: by the opportunity which it afforded of exercising a refined taste, by the emulation excited, the applause, and reputation, which were earned by the successful competitors. But the pressure of the war taxes, which fell upon the rich in various shapes, both in the expense of military and naval equipments, and in extraordinary pecuniary contributions³, which were levied whenever the treasury was exhausted, was still heavier, and was not mitigated by so many alleviating circumstances: though undoubtedly the trierarchy was not without its honours and advantages, to counter-balance its cost, cares, and toils. At the same time the value of their estates in Attica was greatly reduced by the enemy's ravages, which, in the latter years of the war, entirely deprived them of the enjoyment of their landed property.⁴ Their losses were embittered by the reflection, that it was not to the public good, but chiefly to the ambition and cupidity of the demagogues, that their patrimonies were sacrificed. The motives which led such demagogues as Cleon to promote the continuance of war, are manifest enough, and have been already pointed out. To the people of all classes, upon a sober view of their own interests, peace should

¹ De Rep. Ath. iii. οἰοῦσι ἐνερῶς διτλασίους ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι, which must be interpreted by the previous more moderate statement, ὅσας οὐδέποτε τὰς Ἑλληνίδων πόλιν.

² By the διαδικασία (De Rep. Ath. iii. 4.) and the ἀντιδοσίς.

³ Εὐσφορίαι.

⁴ Ἰσχυιὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπῆος . p. 108. τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀκκιδάμωνων ἐπιμαίεται, τὰ δ' ἐγγύς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διηρτάτα.

have appeared much more desirable.¹ But they were urged to prosecute the contest by a variety of inducements, which, in every posture of public affairs, furnished plausible arguments to the advocates of war. It was sometimes jealousy of Sparta, sometimes resentment against her or her allies, sometimes the prospect of conquests which promised an increase of revenue, that afforded a ground for rejecting pacific overtures, or for renewing hostilities: and even when the need of peace became most pressing, when nothing could be reasonably hoped, and the worst was to be feared, from war, there was still a motive by which the assembly might be deterred from sheathing the sword; and it was of such a nature as to appear strongest when all others failed. For it was in seasons of danger and distress that suspicions of treasonable designs were most readily entertained, and that there was really most reason to feel some anxiety for the safety of the constitution. This indeed seems to have been very early a common topic with the demagogues and sycophants; though we do not think the humorous exaggeration of the comic poet, from whom we learn this fact², sufficient ground for believing that the people lived in a continual feverish dread of conspiracies against its liberty.³ But a vague opinion had at length prevailed, so as to be publicly assumed as an acknowledged truth, that a state of war with Sparta was, if not absolutely necessary, at least the most favourable to the security of the democracy⁴; and whoever raised his voice for peace, exposed himself to the imputation of oligarchical principles, and perhaps of an intention to use the negotiation with the enemy as a cover for a treasonable correspondence. The people was thus entangled in a maze, from which

¹ Aristoph. Pax 619.

² Aristoph. Vesp. 488 502.—Equ. 236.

³ We could have wished for some better proof than the passages quoted from Aristophanes, for Wachsmuth's assertion (H. A. I. 2. p. 154): "the people was always dreaming of conspiracies, and the loss of its absolute power: the words, *dissolution of the democracy* (κατάλυσις τοῦ δήμου) produced a feverish uneasiness."

⁴ Andoc. De Pace, p. 23. λέγουσι ὅτι ἔστι δεινότερον τῷ δήμῳ, γινώσκοντες εἰρήνης, ἢ νυν οὕσα τολμαίηται μὴ καταλύσθῃ.

it could scarcely be extricated without a violent convulsion; the precautions taken to guard against the machinations of the disaffected, tended to increase their number and their malignity.

We have already observed, that the Council of Five Hundred, though, according to the design of Solon's institution, it was to prepare all the measures which passed through the Assembly, really exercised very little control over its proceedings, because a proposal sent down from the Council might be modified at the pleasure of the sovereign body¹, and it even appears that a decree might be first moved in the Assembly, and then be sent up to receive the formal sanction of the Council, which could not be withheld; or at least that the Assembly took upon itself to prescribe the subjects which the Council should propose in the usual form for its deliberation.² Still there was one important part of Solon's constitution which seems hitherto to have remained almost untouched³: the business of legislation, including the revision of the laws, still continued to be

¹ To satisfy the law which directed that every decree of the assembly should be preceded by a resolution of the council *πρόβουλεύσαι* on the subject, it was only held to be necessary, that the Council should make a proposition on which the Assembly might deliberate. But the Assembly was not bound simply to adopt or reject the proposed measure, but might immediately pass a decree of a totally different nature. To the examples of such a proceeding given by Schoemann (*De Com. Ath.* p. 18.) from a later period, may be added that of the decree moved by Euryptolemus (*Xen. Hell.* i. 7. 37.) in direct opposition to that which had been sent down from the council for regulating the trial of the generals after the battle of Arginusæ.

² So we find the Assembly decreeing that the council should bring in a proposal (*πρόβουλεύσασαν ἰσχυγχεῖν*) for regulating the proceedings against the generals (*Xen. Hell.* i. 7. 7.) and yet, after it was brought in, it was as liable as any other to be rejected or totally altered.

³ See Vol. ii. p. 46. We ought perhaps to have noticed that according to Wolf's view (in his *Prolegomena* to the *Oration* against Leptines, p. cxxxv.) the business of legislation was committed by Solon to the Council and the Assembly, and was only at a later period transferred to a section of the Heliaæ, under the regulations which we have described. That the reverse of this was the case, appears to us clear, not only from the testimonies adduced by Schoemann (*De Com. Ath.* p. 266.) but from the whole tenor of Athenian history, which shows a perpetual tendency in the assembly to enlarge its powers. The new practice of which Demosthenes complains, and to which he ascribes the frequent changes of the laws in his own day, is evidently no other than what Wolf considers as the ancient institution. Xenophon indeed, or whoever else is the author of the treatise *De Rep. Athen.* speaks, iii. 2. of deliberations about the enactment of laws, as forming a considerable part of the business of the council (*τῶν βουλευῶν βουλευέσθαι πολλὰ περὶ νόμων ὄντων*). But it is not even certain that the word *νόμοι* is here to be taken in its strict sense.

committed to a select body drawn from the *Heliæa*, and it does not appear that the Assembly had deliberately attempted to encroach upon its province, though it is probable that decrees were sometimes passed, which would more properly have been called laws.¹ The security afforded by this institution against rash innovations and the excessive multiplication of the laws, was indeed extremely valuable, though imperfect. But its beneficial effects were in a great measure counteracted by the vicious administration of the laws in the courts of justice, which introduced uncertainty and confusion into all the relations and transactions of private life, and contributed more than any other cause to the public disasters, while it corrupted the character of the people. Solon, when he regulated the constitution of the tribunals, seems to have thought it desirable that every citizen of mature age should from time to time be called upon to discharge the functions of a juror, and to have apprehended no danger from the great number of persons who were to be invested with them at the same time, but rather to have considered this as an additional safeguard against venality and fraud. And in fact it was not until near the end of the war, that verdicts were obtained by direct bribery: a practice which appears to have had its origin in the oligarchical associations which began to be formed, or to acquire a new character, in that period.² But Solon relied on the authority of the magistrates, the simplicity and notoriety of the laws, and above all on the public spirit and pure intentions of the large assemblies whom he entrusted with the administration of justice. He calculated on the state of things which existed in his own day, but which was afterwards entirely changed,

¹ Such, according to Xenophon's description (*Hell.* i. 7. 21.) was the decree of *Cannonus*.

² *Diodorus*, xii. 64 and *Aristotle* (in *Harpocration* *Δικάζων*) refer the origin of the practice to *Anytus*, whose case was probably the first in which it was known to have been used. At the time when the treatise *De Rep. Athen.* was written, the multitude of the jurors was considered as a sufficient obstacle to it. Yet according to *Schneider's* highly probable correction of the passage iii. 7. the terms *δικάζειν* and *συνδικάζου* were then already current.

when the judicial duties of the presiding magistrates became merely formal ; when the numerous body which was drawn indiscriminately from all classes, and therefore chiefly from the lowest, to decide a cause affecting life or property without appeal and without responsibility, was left wholly to its own discretion, which was neither enlightened nor controlled by any superior ; when the laws became more multifarious and complicated ; but especially when the spirit of the people had begun to degenerate, had contracted a wrong bias, had lost its early reverence for truth and right, and had become capable of sacrificing them to its interest and its passions.

The corruption of the Athenian courts of justice probably began with that great extension of their business which took place when the greater part of the allies had lost their independence and were compelled to resort to Athens for the determination of all important causes. At the same time the increase of wealth and the enlargement of commerce, multiplied the occasions of litigation at home. The taste of the people began to be more and more interested in forensic proceedings, even before it was attracted toward them by any other inducement. The pay of the jurors introduced by Pericles strengthened this impulse by a fresh motive, which, when Cleon had tripled its amount, acted more powerfully, and on a larger class. A considerable number of citizens then began to look to the exercise of their judicial functions as a regular source both of pleasure and profit. Several very pernicious consequences arose from this bent of mind, when it prevailed in the majority. It created a prepossession in favour of the party who brought his case before the court, and particularly of the persons who most frequently appeared there as claimants or accusers. It fostered a habit of viewing judicial business as a pastime, and of paying more attention to the manner in which a cause was conducted than to its merits. The taste of an Athenian audience on all literary subjects was correct and fasti-

dious ; it was keenly sensible of all the beauties of expression, and could not tolerate any deviation from the strictest propriety of language. But among the Athenians, as among the Greeks in general, the faculty of weighing the force of arguments and evidence was rare, and it was little cultivated by the practice of the popular tribunals. Even in their best mood the Athenians came to the hearing of a cause with a disposition too like that with which they took their places at the theatre to compare the compositions of rival poets ; and in later times at least a skilful advocate seized every opportunity of interspersing his pleading with long poetical quotations.¹ Such hearers were easily dazzled by eloquence, and when their attention had been diverted from the state of the question by the art of the orator, it was never recalled to the point at issue by the presiding magistrate, whose duties were confined to the preliminaries of the trial and the reception of the verdict.

But the prevalence of this frivolous habit was not the worst fault of the Athenian courts. In the most important class of cases, the criminal prosecutions, they were seldom perfectly impartial, and their ordinary bias was against the defendant. This general tendency to rigour, which appeared both in their verdicts and judgments, arose, independently of the cause which has been already mentioned, from the desire of exercising their power in the manner which rendered it most formidable, and which raised the importance of all the individuals who shared it.² Even this propensity however was not so odious as another motive by which it appears to have been frequently seconded. The juror in the discharge of his office did not forget his quality of citizen, and was not indifferent to the manner in which the issue of a trial might affect the public revenue, and thus he

¹ Spengel (*Artium Scriptores*, p. 20.) observes that if we judge from the remains of the orators, we should believe that this practice did not begin much before the age of Demosthenes ; a large class of cases hardly admitted of it ; and no instances of it are found either in Lysias and Andocides, much less could they be expected in Isæus. But the taste of the Athenian courts in the time of Aristophanes is sufficiently proved by his allusions in the *Vesp.* 579.

² De Rep. Ath. l. 18. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 554.

leaned towards decisions which replenished the treasury with confiscations and pecuniary penalties, while they also served to terrify and humble the wealthy class, which he viewed with jealousy and envy. It was more especially in trials for political offences that these motives most frequently co-operated in their full force to the defendant's ruin. A large fortune was both an object of cupidity, and of itself raised a suspicion of disaffection toward the democracy, which was sufficient to cover many defects in the evidence brought against the possessor, unless he could show that he had reduced his income by voluntary and liberal sacrifices for the public benefit. This iniquitous prejudice was not only the cause of many unjust sentences, but subjected the rich to a kind of persecution, which was continually threatening their peace, even if it did not actually assail them. For on this notorious temper of the courts was grounded the power of the infamous sycophants who lived by extortion, and generally singled out, as the objects of their attacks, the opulent citizens of timid natures and quiet habits, who were both unable to plead for themselves, and shrank from a public appearance. Such persons might indeed procure the aid of an advocate, but they commonly thought it better to purchase the silence of the informer — unless they could shelter themselves by such an expedient as that which Socrates suggested to his friend Crito¹ — than to expose themselves to the risk and the certain inconvenience of a trial. The resident aliens were not exempt from this annoyance; and, though they were not objects of fear or jealousy, they were placed under many disadvantages in a contest with an Athenian prosecutor.² But the noble and affluent citizens of the subject states, above all, had reason to tremble at the thought of being summoned to Athens, to meet any of the charges which it

¹ See above, p. 128. It is not clear that the thought was new, but the expedient cannot have been very frequently employed before.

² Cleon in Aristoph. Equ. 347. seems to treat the management of a cause against an alien as the easiest kind of practice in which a rising sycophant usually acquired the rudiments of his art — *ὡς τὸν διαδιδόν ἑπαις ἢ κατὰ ξένου μετοίκου . . . ὅσον δυακτὸς εἶναι λίγιστον.*

was easy to devise against them, and to connect with an imputation of hostile designs or disloyal sentiments, and were ready to stop the mouths of the orators with gold.¹ The states themselves might often find it necessary to gain the protection of a powerful demagogue against the oppressive demands of the sovereign city, as we know Cleon was once bribed by some of the islanders to exert his influence to relieve them from an extraordinary impost: and the commanders of the Athenian squadrons, especially those who were employed in collecting contributions from the allies, had unbounded opportunities of enriching themselves by the terror which their presence inspired.

There is no room for doubt as to the existence of the evils and vices we have been describing, though the most copious information we possess on the subject is drawn not from purely historical sources, but from the dramatic satires of Aristophanes. But there may still be a question as to the measure of allowance to be made for comic exaggeration, or political prejudices, in the poet; and it seems probable that the colours in which he has painted his countrymen are in some respects too dark. If we should be willing to believe that the people, instead of being blinded by the demagogues, acted on a Turkish system toward them, and connived at their peculation and extortion in the prospect of afterwards reaping the fruits of their crimes while it punished the delinquents², we should still require stronger evidence to satisfy us, that what we have considered merely as a bias which perverted the administration of justice, was accompanied with a distinct consciousness of its nature and tendency, and that the Athenian courts in all their proceedings deliberately obeyed the foulest motives, and must be looked upon as dens of robbery and murder. That the mass of the people had not sunk to this degree of depravity, may we think be in-

¹ Pax 622. τῶν δὲ θυμολάχων ἴσμεν τοὺς παχεῖς καὶ πλουσίους, αἰτίας ὡς προσπίπεντες, ὡς εἰσὶν τοῦ Βασιλέως. . . αἱ δὲ . . . ληστεῖα τῶν ταῦτα ποιοούντων ἔσονται το στ μα.

² Aristoph. Eq. 11:7 toll.

ferred from the grief and indignation which it is recorded to have shown on some occasions, where it had been misled into an unjust sentence, by which it stained itself with innocent blood: as Callixenus, who however was not worse than other sycophants, though he was among those who returned after the expulsion of the Thirty, and enjoyed the benefit of the amnesty, died, universally hated, of hunger. This conclusion will be confirmed by facts which we shall soon have to relate. The Athenian character had undoubtedly been much corrupted by the influence of the most unfavorable circumstances to which the virtue of a nation was ever exposed, which may perhaps all be traced to the first signal breach of faith and justice by which the contributions of the allies had been diverted into the Athenian treasury; but still the portrait in which Parrhasius endeavoured to represent the lights and shades with which it was singularly chequered, was probably not less applicable to the people in this than in any other stage of its history: if it was fickle, passionate, often unjust, it was still always capable of mercy and pity; a compound of generosity and meanness, and of numberless other contrasts, which by turns excited regard and indignation, admiration and contempt in the beholder.¹

The danger with which the state had been threatened by the disastrous event of the Sicilian expedition had, as we have seen, awakened a spirit of more sober reflection, which appeared not only in the measures immediately adopted for the public safety, but in the patience with which the people afterwards listened to proposals for a reform of the constitution, and submitted to that limitation of the democracy which was retained after the oligarchy of the Four Hundred had been overthrown. But the calamitous issue of the war, the sufferings of the siege, and of the terrible period which

¹ Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 10. Pinxit et Demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso. Volbat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem, eundemque exorabilem elementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, et omnia simul ostendere.

ensued, were still more adapted to direct general attention toward the causes of these evils, and to produce an earnest inquiry after a remedy for the inward disorders out of which they had mainly arisen. And accordingly after the expulsion of the Thirty there was not wanting in the body of the people a strong disposition to profit by past experience, to correct abuses, and to guard against their recurrence. Perhaps if the past could have been really buried in oblivion, or the feelings which it excited could have been perfectly allayed, it might not have been difficult to devise measures which would have secured a better state of things for the future, without either the sacrifice of liberty, or any material encroachment on popular rights. The immediate source of the evil, as seems to have been almost universally felt and acknowledged, lay in the predominance of the demagogues and sycophants.¹ To prevent the revival of their sway, it would have been necessary above all things to reform the constitution of the courts of justice, and at least to give property so much weight in them, as would have sufficed to counterbalance the influence of mercenary motives. Another safeguard against popular levity would have been obtained, if the qualification required for admission to the Council had been newly regulated on a like principle, and its prerogatives enlarged, so as to enable it more efficaciously to direct the proceedings of the Assembly. If to such measures had been added some provision for the more economical application of the public revenue, and for compelling the poorer citizens to resort to pursuits of honest industry for their subsistence, the Assembly might perhaps have been safely left in possession of its ancient functions. The government would then have become a polity, while it would have preserved one of the most essential and most valued characters of a pure democracy.

¹ Lysias περί δημ. κατ. p. 174. πᾶσιν ἤδη φανερόν ἐστιν, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τοὺς ἀδίκους πολιτισμοῦντας ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δημοκρατία γίγνεται διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐς γὰρ δημοκρατία συκοφαντοῦντας ὀλιγαρχία δις κατίσθη.

Changes of this kind might perhaps have been practicable if there had been wisdom and virtue enough in the leading men to make a patriotic use of the opportunity for salutary innovation which presented itself at the close of the war. But after the revolution which has been described in the preceding chapter, the time for such an attempt had gone by. The people had been taught that the worst abuses of the old democracy were light in comparison with the excesses of an oligarchical dynasty. Their experience in the artifices of the oligarchical faction led them to consider every limitation of their political privileges as a step toward the bondage from which they had just escaped.¹ To part with any portion of their power, and especially to transfer it to the class to which their late oppressors belonged, would at this juncture have been deemed the height of frenzy. The first condition of future prosperity, even in the judgement of upright and enlightened men, was to keep the old constitution entire: the second, to restore it to its primitive purity, and to adopt such precautions as were consistent with its safety, against the abuses which had crept into its practice. Such appears to have been the tone and the feeling which prevailed for some time after the civil war. The termination of the Anarchy—as the year of the Thirty was called, to mark that the Archon was not legally appointed—was to be the beginning of a new period, a reign of law and order, under which the pests which had long afflicted and dishonoured the commonwealth were never to be seen again. Nor were these mere empty professions accompanied by no attempt to carry them into effect. The sincerity of the people's intentions manifested itself, if not in the most judicious manner, yet by several unequivocal proofs.

The first object of public attention was the state of the laws. Nicomachus, as we have seen, had not completed his task, before it was interrupted by the estab-

¹ As Lycurgus says, c. Leocr. p. 165. *ταπεινωμένοι καὶ ὕδατος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐφόρους τῶν τοῦ θεῶμεν προέμελλοντων*

lishment of the oligarchy. Notwithstanding the services which he had rendered to the oligarchical faction in the case of Cleophon, he had been compelled by the Thirty to quit Athens, and had returned with the companions of Thrasybulus. One of the first measures of the restored Assembly was to pass a decree, on the motion of one Tisamenus,¹ who, like Nicomachus, had filled the office of a public scribe, which, — after declaring that the Athenians were henceforth to be governed by their hereditary institutions, and would retain not only the laws of Solon, but his weights and measures, together with the statutes of Draco which had been heretofore in use — directed that a legislative committee, to be appointed by the Council, should examine the existing laws, and should propose any changes which they might think proper. These alterations or additions, which were to be published within a month, were then to be submitted to the inspection of the Council and of another legislative body appointed by a more popular mode of election,² and it was expressly provided that any private citizen, who thought he could offer useful suggestions, might assist them with his counsels. The whole code, when passed, was to be transcribed on the walls of a portico which had been before used for this purpose. The newly awakened reverence for antiquity which breathes through the decree, was still more strongly expressed by another clause, which directed that, when the laws should have been enacted, the council of Areopagus should watch over them, and see that

¹ Andocides, *Myst.* p. 11. The description which the orator gives of the decrees which were passed on the subject of the new legislation, does not perfectly tally with that of Tisamenus, which is afterwards inserted at length. Andocides seems to speak only of alterations and omissions which were found necessary; Tisamenus of additions to the old laws. The law of Diocles cited by Demosthenes, *Timocr.* p. 713., repeats the most important provisions of the decree of Tisamenus — for the νόμοι οἱ πρὸς Εὐκλείδου τεθέντες ἐν δημοκρατίας are no other than those of Solon — and only adds a clause as to the date from which those passed after the archonship of Euclides were to come into force.

² Andoc. *Myst.* p. 11. οἱ νομοῦνται οἱ πεντακόσιοι οὓς οἱ δημόται ἔλυντο. This reminds us of that use of the word δημόται which is said by an ancient grammarian to have been peculiar to Xenophon, and which Schneider considers as the only argument, which he is not able to get rid of, for attributing the treatise *De R. A.* to him. Xenophon, vol. vi. p. 95.

the magistrates carried them into execution. The Areopagus, which, since its authority had been reduced by Ephialtes, had discharged its remaining functions in great obscurity, though it had maintained its ancient character of strict probity and sober judgement¹, had again begun to attract notice during the siege by some steps — the precise nature of which is not explained by Lysias from whom we learn the fact — for the public safety.² It was however probably not so much on account of the zeal it had displayed on this occasion, as with the view of bringing the constitution back as far as possible to its ancient form, that it was now invested with this indefinite power. In the mean while it seems that a different body, consisting of twenty persons, apparently resembling the kind of privy council which was created after the Sicilian expedition, was appointed with extraordinary authority as guardians of the public peace and safety, until the work of legislation should be completed.³ That the laws in their new form might be a perpetual monument of the epoch at which they were restored, it was ordered on the motion of Archinus that they should be written with the enlarged or Ionian alphabet, which, in Solon's time, had not come into use in Attica, and was now first employed in state documents. Hence the archonship of Euclides, which followed the Anarchy, is memorable in a literary, as well as in a political point of view.

Whether the legislators proceeded with their task so rapidly as the decree enjoined, is not certain; but at least the transcription of the laws appears to have occupied a longer time than had been expected, and we learn, not without surprise, that this delay was imputed to Nicomachus: that he was again entrusted with the

¹ In the Memorab. iii. 5. 20. Socrates asks Pericles the younger, first whether he is not aware, that the Areopagus is composed of citizens who have undergone the legal scrutiny (δ κριμασία); and then proceeds to inquire; εἴθε οὐν τινὰς καλλίον ἢ νομιμώτερον ἢ σπουδότερον ἢ δικαιοτέρον τὰς τι δίκας δικάζοντας, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα πράττοντας; Οὐ μνησθῆναι, ἔφη, τούτοις.

² Eratosth. p. 126. τραπτεύσης τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς, σωτηρίας.

³ Andoc. Myst. p. 11. εἰλάσθε ἀνδρας ἰκροσι, τοὺτους δὲ ἐπιμελίσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ὥς ἂν οἱ νόμοι τιθέιν.

office which he had discharged so ill before, and that he again abused it for his own advantage. He had filled it more than a year¹, when he was called to account by a client of Lysias, from whose oration we derive our knowledge of his history. The orator charges him both with wilful tardiness and with arbitrary interpolations, committed not only before but since the Anarchy. But the only instance he mentions as belonging to the latter period, is one in which Nicomachus was not personally interested, and which he seems to have been ready to vindicate rather than to deny. He had changed the sum allotted by Solon for the public sacrifices from three to nine talents, and thus, according to the orator, had wantonly increased the burdens of the state, at a juncture when the treasury was unable to meet the most pressing demands. Tisamenus, though not involved in the accusation, is mentioned with contemptuous indignation as a colleague of Nicomachus. We cannot ascertain the real state of the case; but it is hardly possible to believe that the publication of the laws was so long delayed. Perhaps after the rest had been passed, Nicomachus may still have been engaged in the transcription of those which related to sacred things. However this may be, when the new code was finished, other enactments were annexed to it, for the purpose of guarding it from infringement and abuse. The magistrates were forbidden in any case to make use of an unwritten law. The law was declared to be of higher authority than the decrees of the Council and the Assembly: and no law was hereafter to be passed affecting a single individual, except by a majority of 6000 secret votes. Among the indications afforded by these legislative proceedings of the spirit of the times,

¹ Lysias, Nicom. p. 183, speaks first of a term of six years, and then of a term of four years, during which Nicomachus retained his office, though it had been limited to four months. It seems clear that the four years are included in the six, which were made up by the time which had elapsed since the Anarchy to the date of the trial. Wachsmuth (i. 2. 269.) supposes that both the four months and the six years began after the Anarchy; but this seems inconsistent with the plainest allusions of the speech (*ἐν δυνάμει τῶν τετραῶν ἔτη τοῦ διότιτος δαδίκαι ταλάντοις ἀναλαῶσι*. p. 185.).

may be mentioned the revival of the law which had been first proposed by Pericles, but had either been repealed for his sake, or had fallen into disuse, for limiting the franchise to the children of Athenian parents¹; and a new decree, which was inscribed on a pillar in the Council chamber², and which, if it had been passed at any other time, would have been a monument of extravagant folly, and of atrocious injustice: it authorised any one who discovered another to be aiming at tyranny, or at the subversion of democracy, or at any kind of treachery toward the state, to kill him with impunity: and it seems that the citizens all took an oath to exercise this dreadful licence³; a measure which cannot be defended, but which seems to have been calculated more for a temporary impression on the public mind than for permanent force.

The zeal with which the people was animated for the maintenance of the laws showed itself more especially in the temper with which the courts of justice continued for some time to receive impeachments brought against the authors of illegal propositions. In such cases the words of the law which was alledged to have been infringed, were scrupulously weighed, and a very minute violation of its letter was sufficient to turn the verdict against the defendant.⁴ A signal example of this severity occurred not long after the Anarchy. Lysias, by his sufferings, his services, and his talents, might fairly claim the honour of the Athenian franchise⁵, which had been so often bestowed on worthless objects. Thrasybulus himself moved a decree for so rewarding him, which was carried. The proposal was

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 167. It was revived by Aristophon the Azenian.

² Lycurg. c. Leocr. p. 165. *στύλης ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ*. This was a refinement upon the ancient law of treason, which was inscribed on a column in front of the Council-chamber (*ἐν τῇ στύλῃ ἐαγροσθῆν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου*. Andocides, Myst. p. 12.), and is attributed by Andocides to Solon. It only provided that whoever should bear office in the city, when democracy was abolished, might be killed with impunity, and that the slayer should be rewarded with the property of the deceased.

³ *Ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὁμοσαν*.

⁴ *Æschines Ctes.* p. 81.

⁵ He speaks of his own merits, *De Aristoph.* Bon. p. 153, *Ἰὰ τὸ πλεονεξία καὶ τὸ πλείονα ἀγαθὰ πεποιμένος*.

perhaps suddenly suggested to him, and, confiding in the acknowledged merits of Lysias, and the favour of the Assembly, he thought it unnecessary to procure the preliminary vote of the Council, which the law required. On this ground he was impeached by Archinus of Cœle, his personal friend, the companion of his exile, who had himself proposed the recompence which was conferred on him and the partners of his enterprise against Phylé. There is no reason for believing that Archinus entertained any ill-will toward Lysias: but he took the lead in the new measures, and perhaps thought that such an example of jealous vigilance in behalf of the laws might produce a salutary effect. Thrasybulus, or at least his decree, was condemned, and Lysias lost the franchise, which he never recovered.¹

Archinus, and all the other true friends of the people, laid great stress on the religious observance of the amnesty, which they perceived to be absolutely necessary to the peace and safety of the commonwealth. Without it the sycophants would have found such an ample field for the exercise of their nefarious craft, that they would probably have kindled another civil war, or have given occasion for Spartan interference. Beside the oath which was taken by all the citizens, and by each of the councillors and the jurors in their official capacity, to fulfil the compact made with the party of the city, one of the new laws provided that no criminal proceedings which had been instituted before the archonship of Euclides, should be revived, though judgments given in civil actions remained in force.² To this law Archinus added another, which enabled a citizen who should be charged with any offence which was covered by the amnesty, to bar the indictment, by a plea which, if established, subjected the prosecutor to a heavy penalty.³ These enactments however would not of themselves

¹ X. Orat. Vit. Lysias. Æschines Ctes. p. 82.

² Andoc. Myst. p. 12.

³ Isocrates c. Calim. p. 371.

prove anything more than the aim of their authors ; unless the spirit of the people supported them, they could never have been more than a dead letter. We have however the highest authority to prove that on the whole the amnesty was faithfully observed : for Xenophon, in a passage of his history which was probably written several years after the event which it relates, says that the two parties continued to live in concord together, and that which had triumphed to abide by its oaths.¹ And this testimony is confirmed by a remarkable fact, which Xenophon indeed did not think worth recording, but which is well attested², and seems a striking indication of the excellent temper which prevailed for some time in the popular Assembly, as well as in the courts of justice. We may the more safely use it for this purpose, because it is so treated by Isocrates, who, though not more prepossessed in favour of democratical government than Xenophon, repeats his assertion on this subject in still stronger and more explicit language. The Spartans, who soon began to regret the part they had taken in composing the discord of the Athenian factions, were not prevented by the distress which followed the Anarchy, from demanding the reimbursement of the 100 talents which they had advanced to the party of the city, for the purpose of overpowering that which was now predominant ; and when payment was delayed, they backed their application with threats. They indeed might consider this as a debt of the state, and their claim as not at all affected by the recent revolution ; but at Athens it could not but be viewed in a very different light. There it was natural, perhaps reasonable, certainly consistent with the ordinary maxims of all Greek factions, to treat it as a transaction which only concerned the defeated party, and to compel those who had received the subsidy, or

¹ Hell. ii. the end.

² Beside Isocrates and Demosthenes (Leptin. p. 460) Aristotle appears to allude to it Pol. iii. 1. where he says : ἀπορροῦσιν τινί, τοῦτ' ἡ πόλις ἱστᾷ καὶ τότε οὐχ ἡ πόλις. οἷον ὅταν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ τυραννίδος γένηται ἐλευθερία, τότε γὰρ οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια ἐννοί μνησθῆναι ὀφείλουσι, ὥς οὐ τὸ πάλαι ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυραννοῦ λαῶσι τοι.

for whose benefit it was intended, to refund it. And this was the course proposed by many speakers, in an assembly which was held to deliberate on the subject. The treasury was at this time, as we have seen, reduced so low, that it could not furnish funds for domestic expenses, which were accounted most indispensable, and that the satisfaction of the Bœotians — though the small debt due to them, if the individuals who contracted it were unable to discharge it, should on every ground of policy, justice, honour, and gratitude, have been adopted by the state, and have been preferred to the claims of Sparta — had been hitherto postponed at the risk of hostilities with a formidable neighbour. Nevertheless for the sake of concord the Assembly charged itself with the repayment of the 100 talents, and decreed that they should be raised by an extraordinary general contribution.¹ Testimony, little less forcible, to the good faith of the people was tacitly given by several of the worst tools of the oligarchy, who, though stained with innocent blood, and objects of universal abhorrence, remained at Athens, as we learn from a contemporary orator², relying on the amnesty, and enjoying its protection.

But both Xenophon and Isocrates were aware that their assertions as to the fidelity with which the amnesty was observed were true only in a general sense, and did not wish them to be interpreted with such rigour as to exclude all exceptions or limitations. Their meaning can only have been, that the victorious party adhered to its engagements as closely as it was reasonable to expect under such circumstances, or at least so as to prove that the prevailing disposition was on the side of peace and concord.³ Their full knowledge of the real

¹ Demosth. Lept. p. 470. τὸν ἔχμον συνεισινέγκειν. Isocr. Areop. p. 225. ποιήναι ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀποδοσιν.

² Andocides, Myst. p. 13.

³ The Athenian amnesty has perhaps acquired a little more celebrity than it is entitled to. It differed only in the express reference to past causes of animosity from the oath of concord, which, as we learn from a passage of the Memorabilia, was taken in every Greek city. Socrates is there made to say (iv. 4. 16.), πανταχοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι νόμος κείται, τοὺς πολίτας ἀμύνει ἐμμενέειν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐμμενέουσι τὸν ὅρκον τοῦτον. There

state of the case gives the greater weight to their testimony. It would have been extravagant to suppose it possible that all traces of the past struggles should be at once effaced, all injuries forgiven, all resentments appeased, or that private passions should not give rise to many attempts, which could scarcely be all unsuccessful, to violate the public compact. There were numbers who had personal wrongs to revenge. The sycophants of the former period had been thinned, but not exterminated, by the Thirty; many of those who had escaped returned among the other exiles with the merit of their recent sufferings; and, if they needed any new inducement, might be driven by poverty into their old pursuits. The finances were also in such a state, that it was more difficult than ever for those who depended for most of their enjoyments, if not for subsistence, on the revenue, to be indifferent as to the issue of a cause by which the treasury might be relieved. And we find but too abundant evidence in contemporary authors, more especially in the works of Lysias, of the pernicious operation of all these causes.

Lysias himself was, like Antiphon, an advocate by profession, whose pen was at the service of every suitor. His practice was very large, his style highly admired, and his skill, as well as his good fortune, must have been great, if out of 230 orations which he composed two only were unsuccessful. Those which have been preserved almost all relate to the period following the Anarchy; and they show that, if the oaths and the laws by which the amnesty was guarded were not formally broken, they were sometimes eluded, and that the sycophants began by degrees to lift up their heads again. Among them is one which was delivered by Lysias himself, and which seems directly to violate the amnesty. It is an accusation of Eratosthenes, who had arrested his brother Polemarchus, but had remained at Athens with Phido, after his other

were probably many states where the oath was less scrupulously observed than at Athens, though the temptation to violate it was nowhere so great.

colleagues had retired to Eleusis, and at the peace did not think it necessary to leave the city. He relied, it appears, chiefly on his connection with Theramenes, who was now considered by many as a martyr for the cause of freedom, and on the general moderation which, notwithstanding his participation in the atrocious measure through which Lysias lost his brother, he had shown in his office. Though his defence is, as usual, anticipated, we find no intimation that he either had pleaded, or meant to avail himself of the amnesty. It seems therefore that this prosecution was treated as an inquiry, to which, by the express terms of the agreement, as it is reported by Andocides¹, the Thirty and the Eleven, if they desired to return to Athens, were still liable. Another oration, which, though the prosecution for which it was composed was not instituted by Lysias himself, must be regarded as describing his own views and feelings, calls for justice against the informer Agoratus, to whose villany it imputes a great share in producing the recent calamities. But Agoratus, notwithstanding the services he had done to the oligarchy, had, like Nicomachus, found himself obliged to fly from Athens under the Thirty, and only returned with Thrasybulus. He was expected to allege his exile as a proof of his patriotism; he also pretended to a share in the assassination of Phrynichus, which indeed according to the existing law was a praiseworthy act; and the speaker takes pains to divest him of this merit; but he likewise claimed the benefit of the amnesty; and this last plea is only met by an attempt to show that none but the party of the city are entitled to it: a distinction which seems manifestly contrary to the spirit and purpose of the measure, and may more easily be excused in Lysias than defended on general grounds. The charge brought against Nicomachus included some points of his conduct in the period after the Anarchy, but the main ground of accusation was the aid which he had afforded to the oligarchical

¹ De Myst. p. 12. οὐ μνησικακίῳ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριακόντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκά· οὐδὲ τούτων ὅς ἂν ἐβίη ἐυθύας διδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢς ἤρξιν.

party in the proceedings against Cleophon. On the other hand we find that Nicomachus had charged the prosecutor, who had staid at Athens during the government of the Thirty, with having been one of the Four Hundred.

Another cause in which Lysias was employed by the prosecutor relates to a much more celebrated person. It was the son of Alcibiades who was charged with a breach of military discipline. The merits of the case are doubtful, and are of little importance for our present purpose; but the speech illustrates some of the prevailing defects of the Athenian administration of justice, as well as the state of public feeling. The speaker avows that his motive is hereditary and personal enmity toward the defendant; he enters into a history of his early life, which, unless it is a tissue of gross falsehoods, proves that he resembled his father chiefly in some of his worst vices; but is wholly irrelevant to the proper question: and he dwells at some length on the political offences of the elder Alcibiades, as a ground for condemning the son. We learn from one of the allusions, that the young man, when a child, was in danger of being involved in the same sentence with his father, by the fury of the people, or the malice of the adverse faction¹, and that, among the reports which were spread about the causes of the disaster of Ægos-potami, one attributed it to the treachery of Alcibiades, no less than to that of Adimantus. The speaker adopts this calumny as an unquestionable fact; and thus contrives to represent him as a main author of the late calamities, and as deserving a share of the hatred due to the Thirty. It appears however likewise, that the name of Alcibiades was still popular enough to serve with many as a screen for the failings of his son.

Though we cannot trust the title of an oration which is attributed to Lysias against Andocides, we have one still

¹ Alcib. i. p. 141. ὅτι παῖς ἦν . . . διὰ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμαρτήματα ἐλθόν τοις Ἰνδοῖσι παρεδόθη. Isocr. de Big. p. 856 οὕτω τιτταρα ἔτη γυρόνως διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φύγην περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐς κοῦρον κατίσταν, and he proceeds to say that he was banished while yet a boy by the Thirty.

left in which Andocides pleaded his own cause in answer to the same charge, and it is from this defence that we learn some of the most important facts in his own history, as well as many others which throw light on that of the times. He had been released from prison after the information with which he had allayed the popular ferment in the affair of the Hermes-busts. But some time after, notwithstanding the assurance of impunity which he had received, he was branded with ignominy by a decree which excluded him from the agora and the temples—in other words from the civil and religious privileges of a citizen. Residence at Athens was insupportable under such privations, and he went abroad, and in the course of his travels visited almost every corner of the Grecian world, Sicily, Italy, Thessaly, Macedonia—where at the court of Archelaus he renewed the hereditary connection between his family and the Macedonian kings—Ionia and Cyprus, where he also gained the favour of the king of Citium, according to some later authors by a very nefarious action¹, but afterwards lost it again, and was forced to leave the island. While the Athenian fleet lay at Samos, he made use of his interest with Archelaus to procure some naval stores which it wanted from Macedonia, hoping, as he says, to conciliate the good-will of his countrymen, but when he proceeded to Athens, not having heard of the revolution which had happened there, to claim the reward of his services, he was arrested by the Four Hundred at the instance of Pisander, and narrowly escaped with his life. Nevertheless, after the restoration of democracy, he applied without success for the repeal of the ignominious decree, and was again forced to retire into exile, from which he did not return before the expulsion of the Thirty. He now began again to take an active part in public affairs, but was twice called upon to defend himself against a criminal information grounded on the decree which had deprived him of his civil pri-

¹ The abduction of a daughter of Aristides (she must have been a grand-daughter at least) whom he is said to have sold to the king of Citium. See Sluiter Lect. Andoc. c. 4.

vileges. It is to the second of these occasions that his speech refers.

The accusation comprised several heads, and it was set on foot by several persons, who on various causes were his private enemies. Foremost among them was the wealthy and profligate Callias, the chief of the noble family which possessed the hereditary superintendence of the Eleusinian mysteries, and who himself at this time filled the office of Torchbearer. If we may believe Andocides, Callias was provoked by the resistance which he experienced from him in a most iniquitous attempt, and had not only suborned a sycophant named Cephisius to lay the information, but had forged another charge against him, of a breach of a sacred law relating to the sanctuary called the Eleusinium. With them were associated some persons who bore him a grudge, because he had thwarted them in their contract for a part of the revenue, out of which they had been used to make an enormous profit. What is certain is, that the greater part of the oration is taken up in the vindication of his own conduct in the affair which caused his disgrace, and with the arguments by which he claims the benefit of the amnesty. He urges, that if a verdict should be given against him, the same principle would apply to a vast number of citizens who were now living in secure reliance on the public faith, notwithstanding political offences much greater than those with which he was charged, and among them to one of his accusers who had been a member of the council under the Thirty. "Make this precedent," he says, "and every one of this number will be in danger, either from private enemies, or from sycophants, who will start up in crowds." It was in the third year after his return that this cause was tried, and if this language shows the evil which was then threatening the public peace, it also clearly implies that it had not yet risen to any considerable height. The issue of this trial was in favour of Andocides, who remained, as we shall see, several years longer at Athens.

It would be easy, but superfluous, to accumulate

proofs and illustrations on this head. We will only notice two or three examples, drawn from the works of Lysias, which indicate that the evil was on the increase, and the spirit of sycophancy growing bolder. One of his clients is obliged to defend himself from a charge, which, so far as we can judge from the speech, applied to him only in common with all the citizens who had remained in the city during the Anarchy. He rests his defence partly on the innocence of his life, and the liberal use which he had made of his fortune, and partly on the amnesty, and concludes with the remarkable expressions: "we (the party of the city) think it just that you should abide by your covenants and oaths with all your fellow-citizens. Still when we see the guilty punished, remembering your past wrongs, we think you excusable: but when your vengeance falls on the innocent and the guilty without distinction, all are reduced to the same state of insecurity and distrust."¹ In another speech, which was delivered at least thirteen years after the Anarchy², we find Ergocles, a friend of Thrasybulus, charged with having urged him to a treasonable enterprise on the ground of the danger which threatened him and his friends from the sycophants; and we observe with surprise, that one who is using the words of Lysias, throws out an intimation, that Thrasybulus had listened to this advice, and had perhaps only been prevented by his death from sullyng his reputation by an act of open rebellion.³

We learn from the same authority, how greatly the evil was aggravated by the poverty of the state and of individuals, which was but slowly relieved, and while it whetted private rapacity, sharpened the rigour of the tribunals in all cases affecting the interests of the treasury. And its effects were no less visible in the Council than in the courts of justice, though here perhaps the immediate cause was not so much cupidity, as fear of

¹ *De Affect. Tyr. fin.* There is a chasm at the end; but the sense of the unfinished sentence is sufficiently clear.

² After the death of Thrasybulus which happened in 389.

³ *C. Ergoclem* p. 180.

the people. But Lysias mentions as a notorious fact, that the Council, when it was at a loss for ways and means, was constrained to receive informations, and to confiscate the property of citizens, and to listen to the worst advice.¹ There was at Athens — and as far as we know it was an effect of Athenian humanity which was not imitated in any other part of Greece — a kind of poor-law by which an indigent citizen, who through infirmity was unable to maintain himself by labour, obtained a small daily allowance, which in the time of Lysias was only an obolus. One of his clients is indicted before the Council, which examined all claims of this nature, for having received the alms of the state when he was able to gain his own living. The case, even if it is a fictitious one², seems to show either that the pensioners were very numerous or that the slightest burdens were felt. Yet it was not from parsimony and industry that the alleviation of the public distress was sought. It was so far from giving rise to vigorous measures of retrenchment, that, within a few years after the Anarchy, on the motion of a demagogue named Agyrrhius, the pay for attendance in the Assembly was raised from one obolus to three; and all the abuses of the *theoric* fund were renewed and aggravated. In one article only Agyrrhius showed a disposition to economy; he cut down the remuneration which had been hitherto given to the poets whose ingenuity furnished the best part of the public entertainments; and it seems not improbable that his motive for this paltry reduction

¹ Nicom. p. 185. But the orator's language does not bear out Hume's remark (Essays, vol. i. p. 401.); that he "speaks of it, as a maxim of the Athenian people, that, whenever they wanted money, they put to death some of the rich citizens as well as strangers for the sake of the fortitude."

² So Boeckh suspects (Pub. Econ. of Ath. ii. 17. not. 404.) on account of a vein of pleasantry which runs through the speech, but which he seems to us to describe in rather too strong terms, when he speaks of the *possierlichen Tone* and *Spasshaftigkeit*. It remains however to be considered whether such a tone is more likely to have been assumed in a declamation on the subject. Perhaps one might rather be surprised not to find more instances of wit in Athenian pleadings, and we may look upon this as a valuable specimen of those *αἰγρία*, to which Demosthenes (Aristocr. p. 689.) attributes so much efficacy. Another is given in the Greek life of Aristophanes, p. xiv. Bekk. Compare Vesp. 567. *οἱ δὲ σκαπτέουσι, ὅτι ἰγὺς γιγῶσιν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν κατὰλαμναι.*

was the desire of revenge for the dramatic satire under which he had smarted. There was, as we learn from Lysias, a whole class of prosecutions, which arose immediately out of the wants of the treasury. It appears that a new board of magistrates under the title of Syndics¹ was appointed immediately after the Anarchy, to receive informations about property due to the state. When the property of a delinquent had been confiscated, if it did not prove equal to the expectations which had been formed of its amount, his nearest relatives and most intimate friends incurred the suspicion of having secreted a part of it, and became liable to a charge which it was generally extremely difficult to repel. So after Ergocles, the defendant in the cause already mentioned, had been put to death for peculation and treason, his kinsman and friend Philocrates, was accused of embezzling his property, and in the speech composed by Lysias for the occasion is called upon to prove either that others were in possession of it, or that the judgment under which Ergocles had suffered was unjust. But two facts which are incidentally disclosed in the speech are more important than the case itself. Ergocles, it is said, had deposited three talents with his advocates, which they were to retain if he gained his cause; and at the time of his trial his friends had publicly boasted that they had purchased 1500 votes in Piræus and 1600 in the city. In another case of a like nature the client of Lysias is able to give seemingly very clear proofs that the property which he was accused of embezzling did not exist; he was also able to plead the extraordinary liberality with which his family had contributed to the public exigencies and had relieved the distress of individuals; for his father had not only discharged the most expensive liturgies, but had portioned out several poor girls, had ransomed captives, and defrayed the cost of burials, and had thus spent the greater part of a large fortune; yet he thinks it necessary to deprecate the adverse prejudices of the

¹ *Harpocratio Σύνδοκος.*

court with the remark, that it would be not only for the honour but for the interest of the people that he should be permitted to retain the small remnant that was left of his family property, which would still be employed as before in the public service.¹ The same ground is taken by the speaker in another case, which is much more remarkable on account of the parties interested, though it is not equally intelligible. The brother and son of the unfortunate Nicias had, as we have seen, been put to death by the Thirty, though it was generally believed that, if they had been willing, they might have shared the power of the oligarchs. Their children had been presented to Pausanias, to incline him toward the cause of the exiles, or to afford him a pretext for embracing it. Yet, many years after the Anarchy, we find the son of Eucrates pleading to avert the confiscation of his father's property. And it appears that his patrimony had been claimed by the treasury shortly after the restoration of democracy; that it had then been successfully defended, but was now again threatened; under what title or colour we are unable to discover. Lysias however makes his client, after having urged the claims of his family on the public gratitude, appeal to the interest of the people, which he considers as represented by the court. "If you were really gainers by unjust confiscations," he argues, "there would be some ground for disregarding our pleas. But such proceedings must tend to disturb that concord which you have acknowledged by your public acts to be the greatest of blessings." And then he adds another argument similar to that of the orator's client in

¹ Pro Bon. Aristoph. It is a little surprising, that in Bremi's edition of this speech, in the *Bibliotheca Græca*, which is superintended by two of the most eminent scholars of Germany, so great a mistake should have been permitted to remain as that which the editor has made about the history of Nicophemus and Aristophanes, who, as he informs his readers, were put to death under the Thirty; though it is quite clear from the speech that they survived the battle of Cnidus four or five years. Bremi however justly remarks that the violence with which they are said to have been destroyed was common under the Thirty; while it was so contrary to the practice and spirit of the democracy, that no candid writer could have thought of drawing any inference from the obscure allusions made to it in the speech.

the last mentioned case: "Our property, if confiscated, will be wasted by those who claim it for the treasury; if left in our hands it will be expended in the public service."

These instances appear to betray a very low tone of public morals, though they may for the most part be referred to the abuse of a principle, which was recognised in every Greek state, that the interests of individuals were in all cases to be sacrificed to the public good. But the comedies of Aristophanes exhibit his fellow-citizens in a still more unfavorable light, as well by his general complaints of their degeneracy, as by a variety of particular and personal allusions. We perceive that gross vices had become so common, that they were scarcely thought to need concealment; and the habits and character of the women are objects of unsparing and indiscriminate satire. The corruption was probably deep and widely spread; though as poverty was the source of many misdeeds to which the affluent were never tempted the higher and middling classes may have retained much of the ancient purity of manners. But the influence of the men whose character and station might have enabled them to check the evil tendencies of the age, and even to enlighten and direct the rest of the community, was not proportioned to their numbers, and was not always exerted for salutary ends. Some were prevented by timidity or by their love of quiet, or by want of the talents or the physical powers required for appearing as speakers in the Assembly or the tribunals, from taking a part in public business.¹ Many, irritated or disheartened by their political disadvantages, kept sullenly or despondingly aloof from the great body of their fellow-citizens, nourishing a secret hatred to the constitution, and anxiously waiting for an opportunity of overthrowing it, and avenging themselves for past injuries and humiliation. The spirit which prevailed in

¹ Such was the case with Charmides, who needed the exhortations of Socrates to encourage him to enter into public life (Xen. Mem. iii. 7.) and with the persons mentioned by Xenophon Mem. i. 2 48.

a large part of the higher order of citizens, is illustrated by many passages, and indeed by the whole tenor of the treatise, or fragment, preserved among the works of Xenophon under the title of *the Athenian Commonwealth*. Its value in this respect is the same, whether Xenophon or any one else, was the author; for it was probably written during the Peloponnesian war, and apparently before the end of the Sicilian expedition. The whole is one bitter sarcasm, and in every sentence breathes the rancorous scorn with which the writer regarded the government and the mass of the people. According to his view the contrast between the upper and the lower class is equivalent to that between vice and virtue. The rich are the worthy, the excellent, the wise: the poor are ignorant and depraved. Hence the two classes are irreconcilably hostile to each other. All the world over the best class is adverse to democracy, and is therefore oppressed by the other, when this happens to gain the upper hand. The common people will not be governed by the counsels of the wise and virtuous, because, ignorant and foolish as they are, they still have sense enough to know that the good men are their mortal enemies, and if they were trusted with power, would very soon deprive them of their liberty.¹ Such is the strain in which the book opens, and proceeds to the end; it breathes the spirit of the oath which in the time of Aristotle was taken by the members of the ruling body in some of the Greek oligarchies: I will be hostile to the commonalty, and will do it all the harm in my power by my counsels²; and one reason for doubting that it has been rightly attributed to Xenophon, is, that in his other works, which were all written later, he nowhere betrays such violent oligarchical feelings. There are also indications that it was written at a distance from Athens³, and therefore most probably by an exile. But still it may justly be considered as representing the sen-

¹ I. 4—9.

² Pol. v. 7. 19. Καὶ τῶν δημοῦ παρόνους ἴσομαι, καὶ βουλεύσω ὅ τι ἂν ἴχω παρὸν.

³ Adv. Gr. i. 2. 10. n. iii. 1.

timents of a large body of Athenians, the same who constituted the strength of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty.

There were however others who though very much dissatisfied with the existing state of things, were willing to accept and even eagerly sought the highest offices under the democratical government, some from common motives of ambition, others with dishonest and malignant designs. Xenophon has reported a conversation between Socrates and the younger Pericles, which must have taken place during the peace of Nicias.¹ Pericles had either been elected general, or aspired to the office. Yet Socrates, after having endeavoured to convince him that the Athenians are not so incurably degenerate as he thinks them, delicately reminds him, that he has not yet qualified himself for the station which he covets; and Pericles admits the justice of the reproof. Nicias affords an example of a better spirit, which, though rare, was not wholly wanting in any period of Athenian history. Though he both saw and suffered from the defects of the government, he served his country zealously and faithfully, and, as far as we can judge, without any oblique aim. Such was probably also the case with his brother Eucrates, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, and perhaps with several others among the generals and statesmen who have been already named. But a still higher praise seems to belong to the poet Aristophanes, and his genius, wonderful as it is, is less admirable than the use which he made of it. He, whose works have furnished the most abundant materials for all the repulsive descriptions of his contemporaries which have been given in modern times, never ceased to exert his matchless powers in endeavours to counteract, to remedy, or to abate, the evils which he observed. He seems to have neglected no opportunity of giving wholesome advice in that which he judged the most efficacious form; and only took advantage of his theatrical privilege to attack pre-

¹ Mem. iii. 5. The date is determined by the state of public affairs described in the fourth section.

vailing abuses, and to rouse contempt and indignation against the follies and vices which appeared to him most intimately connected with the worst calamities and dangers of the times.

The patriotism of Aristophanes was honest, bold, and generally wise. He was still below the age at which the law permitted a poet to contend for a dramatic prize, and was therefore compelled to use a borrowed name, when, in the year after the death of Pericles, he produced his first work, in which his chief aim seems to have been to exhibit the contrast between the ancient and the modern manners.¹ In his next his ridicule was pointed more at the defects or the perversion of political institutions, and perhaps at the democratical system of filling public offices by lot.² In both however he had probably assailed many of the most conspicuous persons of the day, and either by personal satire, or by attacks on the abuses by which the demagogues thrived, he provoked the hostility of Cleon, who endeavoured to crush him by a prosecution. Its nominal ground was it seems the allegation, that the poet, who in fact according to some accounts was of Dorian origin, was not legally entitled to the franchise. But the real charge was that in his recent comedy he had exposed the Athenian magistracy to the derision of the foreign spectators. Cleon however was baffled; and though the attempt was once or twice renewed, perhaps by other enemies of Aristophanes, it failed so entirely, that he seems to have been soon left in the unmolested enjoyment of public favour; and he not only was encouraged to revenge himself on Cleon by

¹ The Δαιτυλίς. The chorus consisted of a party which had just risen from a feast in the sanctuary of Hercules. Οὐκ Δαιτυλίς. One might be tempted to conjecture that it was a sacrifice to Hercules in his character of Ἀλκιμαχος, and that it was one object of the piece, which was exhibited while the plague was at its height ἀπαιῶντος τοῦ λαοῦ (Schol. Ran. 504.) to intimate that the favour of the god (the patron of gymnastic exercises) might be best propitiated by a return to the ancient course of education, which was no doubt contrasted with that of later times, in the scene between the sober and the wanton youth, perhaps with some allusions to the celebrated Hercules of Prodicus.

² The Βαβυλώνιοι, in which δεῦσθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τας πρῆξιν ἀρχάς. Aristophanes Vit. Bekk. p. xii.

³ Διυτίστον καὶ τρίτον συκοφαντικῆς ἀτίμιον. Aristoph. Vit. Bekk. p. xiv.

a new piece, in which the demagogue was exhibited in person, and was represented by the poet himself ;—who it is said could not find an actor to undertake the part, nor even get a suitable mask made for it—but he at the same time ventured on an experiment which it seems had never been tried before on the comic stage. The people had been accustomed to see the most eminent Athenian statesmen and generals brought forward there and placed in a ludicrous light ; but it had never yet beheld its own image set before its eyes as in a mirror, which reflected the principal features of its character, not indeed without the exaggeration which belonged to the occasion, but yet with a truth which could not be mistaken or evaded.¹ This was done in the same play which exposed Cleon's impudence and rapacity ; and the follies and faults of the assembled multitude, which appears under its proper name of Demus, as an old dotard, not void of cunning, though incapable of governing himself, are placed in the strongest relief by the presence of its unworthy favorite, who is introduced, not indeed by name, but so as to be immediately recognised, as a lying, thievish, greedy, fawning, Paphlagonian slave. The poet's boldness was so far successful, that instead of offending the audience he gained the first prize : but in every other respect he failed of attaining his object ; for Cleon, as we have seen ², maintained his influence un-

¹ In the treatise *De Rep. Ath.* ii. 18. the author remarks : *κωμῳδεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν δῆμον οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ δὲ κελεύουσι εἰ τίς τινα βούλεται*. Schneider and Delbrueck (*Xenophon*, p. 144. probably the only reader of the work who has been unable to discover any satirical invectives in it) infer from this passage that it was written before the Knights. Boeckh (*Public Econ. of Ath.* iii. 5.) thinks that it might nevertheless have been written after the Anarchy, and that the restriction alluded to is that which was then imposed upon comedy by the jealousy of the people. But it is not clear, that, in the sense in which he understands the expression, *κωμῳδεῖν τὸν δῆμον*, it was forbidden to do so even then ; and indeed the *Ecclesiastæ* affords proof to the contrary. On the other hand it is certain that Aristophanes had made the people the object of his satire before the production of the Knights (see *Acharn.* 606. *διαβαλλόμενος—ὡς κωμῳδεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει*). So that, if the treatise *De R. A.* was written before that time, the assertion above quoted would, as Boeckh observes, be equally false ; and it must therefore be looked upon as one of the author's hasty or wilful misrepresentations. Still the Athenian Demus appears to have been a new character.

² Vol. III. p. 300. where the words *soon after*, in line 25. should be omitted.

impaired to the end of his life, and the people showed as little disposition to reform its habits, and change its measures, as if the portrait it had seen of itself had been no less amiable than diverting. But the issue of this attempt did not deter him from another, which, but for the applause which had crowned the first, might have appeared equally dangerous. As in the *Knights* he had levelled his satire against the sovereign Assembly, in the *Wasps*, which he exhibited in the year before Cleon's death, he attacked the other stronghold of his power, the courts of justice, with still keener ridicule.

The vehicles in which Aristophanes conveyed his political lessons, strange as they appear to us, were probably judiciously chosen, as well with the view of pointing the attention of the audience more forcibly to his practical object, as of relieving the severity of his admonitions and censures. As time has spared only a few fragments of the earlier and the contemporary productions of the comic drama, it is only from the report of the ancient critics that we can form any notion of the relation in which he stood to his theatrical competitors. He is said not only to have introduced several improvements in the structure of the old political comedy, by which he brought it to its highest perfection¹, but to have tempered the bitterness and the grossness of his elder rival Cratinus, who is described as the comic Æschylus.² It is not quite clear in what sense this account is to be understood, for it is difficult to conceive that the satire of Cratinus can have been either freer or more licentious. But the difference seems to have consisted in the inimitable grace with which Aristophanes handled every subject which he touched. We are informed indeed that even in this quality he was surpassed by Eupolis, who is also said to have shown more vigour of imagination in

¹ Μεθοδεύσας τεχνικώτερον τὴν κωμῶδιαν — πολλὰ προσβληστικῆς in the fragments vol. i. pp. vi, vii. of Bekker's *Aristophanes*. Yet it is not quite certain that this means anything more than what the poet himself boasts of Nub. 529. foll. Pax 723. foll.

² Γίγνται ποιητικώτατος, κατασκευάζων εἰς τὸν Αἰσχύλου χαρμητῆρα.

the invention of his plots.¹ Yet another account represents Eupolis as more nearly resembling Cratinus in the violence and homeliness of his invectives; and the testimony of the philosopher Plato, who in an epitaph called the soul of Aristophanes a sanctuary of the Graces, studied his works as a model of style for the composition of his own dialogues, and honoured him with a place in one of his masterpieces, seems sufficient to prove that at least in the elegance of his taste, and the gracefulness of his humour, he had no equal. We are still less able to pronounce whether he was exclusively or pre-eminently entitled to the praise of patriotism which we have bestowed on him. Many themes of his satire were undoubtedly common to him with most of his rivals. Eupolis even claimed a share in the composition of the *Knights*²; though Aristophanes would not own his obligations to him, and charged him with having borrowed the plan of a celebrated comedy, in which he attached Hyperbolus³, from the *Knights*. These instances indicate that, as their poetical merits were in many respects evenly balanced, so their political sentiments were on several points congenial to each other. But whether the works of any other comic poet, if they had been preserved, would have exhibited the unity of design, and the depth of patriotic feeling, which we find in Aristophanes, is a different question, which we have no means of deciding.

How much Aristophanes was in earnest with his subject, how far he was from regarding it merely as an occasion for the exercise of his art, and how little he was swayed by personal prejudices, which have sometimes been imputed to him, is proved less by the

¹ Εὐπόλις εὐφάνταστος εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἴστι κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις.

² Πικρότερον τι καὶ αἰσχρότερον, Κρατίου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος βλασφημούντων ἢ ἐδῶ.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 544. Eupolis had said in the *Baptæ* τὸς Ἰπσίας συνεταίγησα τῷ Φαλακρῷ καὶ ὠνομάμην, and Cratinus in the *Ποτιπῆ* (Schol. Aristoph. Eg. 528.) had charged Aristophanes with borrowing from Eupolis.

⁴ The *Μαριζᾶς*. Nub. 545.

keenness of his ridicule than by the warmth of his affection for Athens, which is manifest even under the comic mask. In his extant plays he nowhere intimates a wish for any change in the form of the Athenian institutions. He only deploras the corruption of the public spirit, points out its signs and causes, and assails the persons who minister to it. It is indeed the Athens of another age that he heartily loves; but that age is no remote antiquity, it is, if not within his own memory, near enough to be remembered by the elder part of his audience. He looks back indeed to the days of Miltiades and Aristides, as the period when the glory of Athens was at its height. But those of Myronides and Thucydides, the rival of Pericles, likewise belong, in his view, to the good old times, which he sighs for; and the evils of his own are of still more recent origin. He traces them to the measures of Pericles; to the position in which he had placed Athens with regard to the subject states, and above all to the war in which he had involved her. The Peloponnesian war he treats as entirely the work of Pericles, and he chooses to adopt the popular rumours which ascribed it to his fears for his own safety, or to the influence of Aspasia; and to consider the quarrel with Megara as only the occasion or colour for it. This must not be looked upon as mere vulgar slander: it was probably designed to express the poet's real opinion, that all the grounds alledged in favour of the war were frivolous in comparison with those which an unbiassed view of the true interest of Athens would have suggested against it.¹ The restoration of peace is the object of his most ardent wishes; and he appears to believe, that it would be a sufficient remedy for the worst disorders of the

¹ We cannot believe with Roetscher (*Aristophanes und sein Zeitalter*, p. 98.) that Aristophanes invented either of these stories, nor do we understand how he can be supposed to have done so with a view to weaken the authority of Pericles, unless it be thought credible that the Athenians were induced to prolong the war by their respect for his memory. Trægæus indeed professes never to have heard the scandal about Phidias before (Pax 600.); but Plutarch (Par. 31.) speaks of it as *ἡ χεριστή μὲν αἰτία πάντων, ἔχουσα δὲ κλειστοὺς μάρτυρας*.

state. The war he regards as the main foundation of the power of such demagogues as Cleon and Hyperbolus. If peace were only restored, he hopes that the mass of the people would return to its rural occupations and to its ancient tastes and habits; that the Assembly and the courts of justice would no longer hold out the same attractions; that litigation would abate, and the trade of the sycophants decay. Cleon is reproached in the Knights with having caused the Spartan overtures to be rejected, because he knew that it was by the war he was enabled to plunder the subject cities, and that if the people were released from the confinement of the city walls, and once more to taste the blessings of peace and of a country life, he should no longer find it subservient to his ends. Hence we may perhaps conclude that when, at the end of the same play, Demus (the personified people) is introduced as newly risen out of a magic cauldron, restored to the vigour and comeliness of youth, in a garb and port worthy of the companion of Aristides and Miltiades, with his eyes opened to his past errors, and with the purpose of correcting them, the poet did not conceive the change thus represented as hopeless, and still less meant to intimate that it was impossible.¹

Yet it would seem as if this hope had gradually lost strength. Three of his remaining comedies are entirely dedicated to the purpose of recommending peace, but there is a remarkable difference in his manner of treating the subject between the first two and the last of the three. In the *Acharnians*, which was produced in the sixth year of the war, and in the *Peace*, which appeared in the thirteenth, he aims at reviving the old taste for rural pursuits, by a lively description of the pleasures of the husbandman's life, its quiet, freedom, plenty, simple and cheerful festivals. In the *Lysistrata*,—which was exhibited in the second year after the

¹ Precisely the same thought is express'd by the Chorus in the *Peace* (546—552.) by a simple metaphor: οἷός τ' ἂν καὶ εὐχραῖς διακαστὴν θεῖμων οὐδὲ δύσκαλον . . . ἀλλ' ἄταλόν αἰ μ' ἰδοῖς καὶ πολὺ νειώτερον.

disastrous termination of the Sicilian expedition, when the public prospects were most gloomy, when the Athenians were threatened abroad with the united attacks of the Peloponnesian confederacy and Persia, and at home were harassed with a round of military duties, which, as Thucydides informs us, kept them day and night under arms¹, while the factious intrigues which ended in the oligarchy of the Four Hundred were already beginning to agitate the state, — peace is considered simply as a deliverance from the intolerable pressure of domestic evils, and is represented as brought about by compulsion, as the close of a civil war between the sexes. The whole play, though several scenes are extravagantly ludicrous, wants the hearty gaiety which breathes through the two others. There is much more of earnestness than of humour in the poet's allusions to the distress of the times², and to the general poverty³, as well as in the warnings which he puts into his heroine's mouth against the political associations⁴: a passage which is extremely interesting, both because it proves how far he was from siding with the oligarchical faction, and on account of the proposal it contains for strengthening the commonwealth by a liberal communication of the franchise to deserving aliens, and by a policy which would bind the colonies of Athens more closely to the parent state. In the piece which he exhibited during the oligarchy of the Four Hundred he abstains almost entirely from political allusions, though a passage in which the tutelary goddess is invoked as the enemy of tyrants, may be thought to have been pointed against the ruling faction; and another seems to censure the resignation of the Council of Five Hundred.⁵

¹ It is to this the poet alludes Lys. 535. foll. where he describes the citizens as marketing in full armour.

² 1047. *ἰκανὰ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰ ταρακίματα.*

³ 1049—1071. and 1189—1215. Bekk.

⁴ 573. foll.

⁵ Thesmophoriazuse 1116. *ζαυτὸ ὃ τυράννους στυγούσ', ὥστις ἰσχύς.* Wachsmuth (l. 2. p. 171.) thinks the allusion evident: it seems to us rather doubtful; but in 308. the poet certainly alludes to the manner in which the Council of Five Hundred was turned out of office. Whether

But though in the eyes of Aristophanes the war was the capital evil of his time, was the source of many others, and aggravated all the rest, there were some of great magnitude distinct from it, and of earlier origin, and only so far connected with it, as they had either in some degree contributed to produce and prolong it, or were themselves maintained and fostered by its continuance. The pernicious effects of the war, as far as it affected the character of the people, were most immediately and principally visible in the lower order of citizens; but changes had likewise taken place in the education, habits, and modes of thinking of the higher classes, which he looked upon as fraught with the most dangerous consequences, and which he laboured to counteract with no less zeal than he displayed in combating political errors and abuses. Here however, though his patriotism was equally sincere, it does not seem to have been equally enlightened. What he attempted was neither possible nor advisable. When he was entering on his dramatic career Athens had been during half a century securely seated on that eminence of power and glory, to which she rose immediately after the Persian war; and during a great part of that time her counsels had been guided by a man whose personal taste, no less than his policy, led him to encourage the cultivation of every branch of art and literature. It was a period of great intellectual activity; and the simple course of education under which the conquerors of Marathon and Salamis had been reared, no longer satisfied the wants of the noble, wealthy, or aspiring part of the Athenian youth. Their learning had not gone beyond the rudiments of music, and such a knowledge of their own language as enabled them to enjoy the works of their writers, and to express their own thoughts with ease and propriety, and they bestowed at least as much care on the training

as Wachsmuth supposes he means to reproach it with folly or pusillanimity on account of its passiveness, is not so clear.

of the body, as on the cultivation of the mind. But in the next generation the speculations of the Ionian and Eleatic schools began to attract attention at Athens; the presence of several celebrated philosophers, and the example of Pericles, made them familiar to a gradually widening circle, and they furnished occasion for the discussion of a variety of questions intimately connected with subjects of the highest practical moment. Still the influence of these speculations on the general state of society would probably have been very slight — as in their own nature they were only capable of interesting a few inquisitive minds — if it had not been at once extended and perverted by the rise of a new class of men, who occupy a prominent place in the history of Greek philosophy and literature, under the name of the Sophists.

We do not propose here to enter into an examination of the many obscure points connected with this celebrated name. We will only observe, that to form a just notion of the men who bore it, it is necessary in the first place, to beware of confounding them together as if they were all of kindred spirit and similar pursuits; and in the next place, to discriminate between their literary and their philosophical character. We are for the present only concerned with two or three features which appear to have been common to the whole class from its earliest origin, and to distinguish it from every other. The sophists made a profession both of philosophy and of rhetoric, and exhibited their art, and communicated their knowledge, to all who were willing to purchase their lessons. This last is the mark by which the ancients most frequently describe them; and though it is one on which too much stress may have been laid, and which may have raised an unjust prejudice against some individuals of the class¹, it certainly ought not to be overlooked, when we are considering the causes which determined the bent of their pursuits, and the effect which they

¹ See on this subject Spengel *Artium Scriptores* p. 40. and Welcker in the *Neue Rheinisch. Museum*, i. p. 3^o. fol.

produced on their contemporaries. It is true that it was not more usual among the Greeks than among any people of modern times to labour gratuitously for the benefit of others, and that the masters of eloquence and of reasoning might as fairly claim a reward for the pleasure or the instruction they afforded as the poets, physicians, painters, sculptors, or artists of any other kind. But among philosophers the practice was certainly an innovation, and indicated a very different spirit from that in which those of earlier times had been used to prosecute their researches. Some of them are said to have reduced themselves to poverty, none to have enriched themselves by their philosophical pursuits. If they travelled, it was to acquire knowledge, not to display it; and they consigned the fruit of their meditations either to books or to a select circle of hearers. It is doubtful whether Zeno the Eleatic is to be considered as an exception, or is to be placed in this respect, as he was by some of the ancients on other accounts, at the head of the sophists.¹ But it cannot be denied that the tendency of this practice in men who combined philosophy with rhetoric, even if it did not affect the nature of their doctrines, was to make them subordinate to the art by which they were expounded and maintained. And accordingly it appears that the most eminent even among the earliest sophists, as Protagoras of Abdera, and Prodicus of Ceos, attracted listeners, and excited admiration, much less by the novelty of their speculations, than by their rhetorical talents.

At Athens especially, where the value of eloquence, as a weapon or a shield, was felt every day more and more, the youths who flocked round the sophists, were in general much less curious about any truths which they had to deliver, than desirous of acquiring the art which would enable them to shine in the Assembly, to prevail in the courts of justice, and to argue on any subject and on any side, so as to perplex their adversary, and to

¹ Pseudo-Plato *Alcib.* i. p. 119 But perhaps this is scarcely sufficient authority for the fact

impose upon the hearers. It was not by an accidental coincidence that the masters who taught this art, also held doctrines which tended to universal scepticism. It is probable indeed that each Sophist had some favorite topics on which he discoursed more readily than on others; but still it seems that they were all ambitious of the reputation of being able to discuss any subject that might be proposed to them; though it is only of Gorgias we hear that he publicly undertook to speak on any thesis, and to answer any question. All subjects might equally serve for dialectic or rhetorical exercises; and as none were exempt from controversy, so according even to the avowed doctrines of Protagoras and Gorgias, no truth could claim any higher value than that of a plausible opinion; the newest and boldest proposition afforded most room for the display of acuteness and ingenuity. It may easily be imagined how many popular prejudices which had long been held sacred, must have been violently shaken by these disputations; how many objects which had hitherto been viewed with awe, must have lost their venerable aspect, among men whose minds had been chiefly formed by a poetical literature, and who had been used to connect not only their religious belief, but their social duties, with the rites of a superstitious worship, and the traditions of a fantastical mythology. The masters who had helped to excite this fluctuation and conflict of opinion, neither wished, nor were able, to lay it. They had nothing intrinsically more valuable or solid to substitute for the vulgar errors which they had dislodged.

It was not therefore without reason that Aristophanes, in common with all Athenians who loved and regretted the ancient times, regarded the sophistical circles with abhorrence, not only as seminaries of demagogues and sycophants, but as schools of impiety and licentiousness. That the attention of the Athenian youth should be diverted from military and athletic exercises, from the sports of the field, and from the enjoyment of that leisure which had once been esteemed the most precious privilege

of a Greek freeman, to sedentary studies, which at the best only inflated them with self-conceit, and stimulated them to lay aside the diffidence which befitted their age, and come forward prematurely in public, to exhibit their new acquirements and to supplant the elder and graver citizens on the bema, or to harass them before the popular tribunals: ¹ this in itself he deemed a great evil. And, in the last scene of the Knights, one of the resolutions which Demus adopts, when his faculties have been restored to their youthful vigour, is that he will bar the agora and the Pnyx against the beardless youths who now pass so much of their time in places of public resort, where they amuse themselves with discussing the merits of the orators in technical language, and will force them to go a-hunting, instead of making decrees. But it was a still more alarming evil, that, by way of preparation for this pernicious result, the religious belief of the young Athenians should be unsettled, their moral sentiments perverted, their reverence for the maxims and usages of antiquity extinguished; that subjects which had never before been contemplated but at an awful distance — the being and nature of the gods, the obligations arising from domestic and civil relations — should be submitted to close and irreverent inspection. It was according to the view of Aristophanes a matter of comparatively little moment, what turn such discussions happened to take, or what was the precise nature of the sophistical theories. The mischief was already done, when things so sacred had once been treated as subjects for inquiry and argument. But he perceived the evil much more clearly than the remedy. He would fain have carried his countrymen half a century backward, and have forced them to remain stationary at the stage which they had then reached in their intellectual progress; and it seems as if he wished to see the schools of the new philosophy forcibly suppressed, and with this view attempted to direct popular indignation against them. Unhappily the only case in which this attempt succeeded

¹ Aristoph. Ach. 650.

was one in which the poet himself, if he had been better informed, must have desired it should fail.

Aristophanes closely watched all the workings of the sophistical spirit, and was sagacious enough to perceive that they were not confined to any particular sphere, but pervaded every province of thought and action. He was naturally led to observe its influence with peculiar attention in the branches of literature or art which were most nearly allied to his own. He was able to trace it in the innovations which had taken place in music and lyrical poetry, but above all in the tragic drama: and Euripides, the last of the three tragic poets who are known to us by their works, appeared to him as one of the most dangerous sophists, and was on this account among the foremost objects of his bitterest ridicule. The earnestness with which Aristophanes assailed him seems to have increased with the growth of his reputation; for of the three comedies in which he is introduced, the last, which was exhibited after his death, contains by far the most severe as well as elaborate censure of his poetry. It is not however quite certain that Euripides, even in the latter part of his career, was so popular as Sophocles. In answer to a question of Socrates, in a conversation which Xenophon probably heard during the latter part of the Peloponnesian war, Sophocles is mentioned as indisputably the most admirable in his art.¹ It has often been observed, that the success of Euripides, if it is measured by the prizes which he is said to have gained, would not seem to have been very great: and perhaps there may be reason to suspect, that he owed much of the applause which he obtained in his life-time to the favour of a party, which was strong rather in rank and fortune than in numbers; the same which is said to have been headed by Alcibiades, and, on an occasion which will be afterwards mentioned, to have deprived Aristophanes of the prize.² Alcibiades,

¹ Mem. i. 4. 3. He is classed with Homer, the dithyrambic poet Melanippides, Polyclitus, and Zeuxis.

² Even by Aristophanes (Ran. 770.) Euripides is represented as the favorite only of a class in Hades — which indeed is said to be there the

as we have seen¹, employed Euripides to celebrate his Olympic victories; and his patronage was sufficient to spread the poet's fame at home and abroad. The anecdote about the celebrity which he had acquired in Sicily is perfectly consistent with this view; as is the invitation which he received a little before his death from Archelaus of Macedon, at whose court he ended his life; and the admiration which Dionysius of Syracuse expressed for him, by buying his tablets and pen at a high price, to dedicate them in the temple of the Muses.

Aristophanes was so far from being blind to the poetical merits of Euripides, that he was himself charged by his rivals with borrowing from him², and in one of his lost plays acknowledged that in his diction he had imitated the terseness of the tragic poet, but asserted that his thoughts were less vulgar.³ How accurately he had studied the works of the tragic drama, how vividly he perceived the genuine character of Greek tragedy, and the peculiar genius of each poet, is sufficiently proved by the mode in which he has conducted the contest which he feigns between Æschylus and Euripides. But his criticism would probably have been less severe, if he had not considered Euripides less in his poetical character than in his connection with the sophistical school. Euripides had in fact been a hearer of Anaxagoras, and

largest — composed of the footpads, cutpurses, parricides, and house-breakers, who are delighted with his rhetorical artifices. This is evidently the same class as that which in the Wasps 1038. Aristophanes describes himself to have attacked in the clouds — the *ἐπίστροφοί* and *πυρεῖται*, οἱ τοὺς πατήρας τ' ἡγχοὶ νυκτὶ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἀτίτηνγον, who are continually occupied with pleadings and chicanery. In Athens the *τοιγῶνχοι* are said to be πολλοί, but not the πλεῖστοι. (Ran. 807.) Xanthias expresses surprise that Euripides had not been pelted for his impudence in disputing the throne with Æschylus; and asks why Sophocles had not claimed it.

¹ Vol. III. p. 330.

² Schol. Plato Apol. i. p. 330. Bekker, Aristophanes ἐκωμωδεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην μιμῆσθαι δ' αὐτόν. Hence Cratinus had coined the word *εὐριπιδαριστοσάντων*. Did he apply it to Aristophanes himself? See Pflugk. Eurip. Præf. p. xxxviii.

³ Schol. Plato Apol. i. p. 331. αὐτὸς ἐξομολογεῖται Σχηνὰς καταλαμείανούσας.

Χεῖμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στερογγύλῳ
Τὸς νους δ' ἀγοραίους ἤπτον ἢ χεῖνος ποῖον.

probably both of Protagoras and Prodicus. In his house Protagoras was said to have read one of his works by which he incurred a charge of atheism. He was also on intimate terms with Socrates, who was therefore reported to have aided him in the composition of his tragedies, and perhaps may have done so, in the same way as Prodicus and Anaxagoras; and this connection was, as we shall see, of itself a sufficient ground with Aristophanes for suspicion and aversion. The strength of Euripides lay in passionate and moving scenes, and he sought like other poets for situations and characters which afforded the best opportunity for the display of his powers. But he was too frequently tempted to work upon the feelings of his audience by an exhibition of sufferings which were quite foreign to the heroic dignity of the persons who endured them, who were therefore degraded by the pity they excited. The misery of his heroes often consisted chiefly in bodily privations, which were presented to the eye, and could only awaken the sympathy of the spectator's animal nature. Aristophanes ridicules the aid which he borrowed for this purpose from the tragic wardrobe; but it was not so much the poverty of poetical invention betrayed by such scenes, as their tendency to bring down persons whose names were hallowed in epic song or in religious traditions, to the common level of humanity, and thus to weaken the popular reverence for antiquity, that really provoked his satire, and he seems, according to his usual practice, to have fixed on this palpable example of the manner in which the modern tragedy had lowered the ancient majesty of the art, which he expresses more generally by the boast put into the mouth of Euripides, that he had adapted his poetry to the uses of domestic life.¹

But the affinity between Euripides and the Sophists was still more conspicuous in some other peculiar features of his poetry. He made it a vehicle for rhetorical declamations, conducted in the forensic tone and spirit; for long debates, evidently protracted for no other pur-

¹ Ran. 957. 975.

pose than a display of dialectic dexterity; for philosophical reflections and disquisitions, studiously introduced as if with the design of shaking the established belief in articles of the highest importance. Traces of his acquaintance with the physical speculations of Anaxagoras, which at Athens were accounted irreconcilably opposed to the state religion, occur not unfrequently in his remaining works, and they were at least common enough, coupled with the freedom of his remarks on many points of the received theology, to afford Aristophanes a colour for representing him as little better than an atheist; for he worships only gods of his own, and they turn out to be nothing more than the powers of his own understanding.¹ His irreligion is contrasted with the piety of Æschylus, who invokes the goddess of the Eleusinian mysteries; a hint which, after the prosecution of Alcibiades, was easily understood, as to the party to which Euripides belonged. It was probably in the same point of view that Aristophanes considered the plays which he founded on tales of criminal, and even of incestuous passion. Euripides was undoubtedly induced to select such subjects, some of which were new to the Greek stage, chiefly by the opportunity they afforded him of displaying his peculiar dramatic talent. But in his hands they seldom failed to give occasion for a sophistical defence of conduct repugnant to Greek usages and feelings, which to Aristophanes would appear much more pernicious than the example itself. But his plays were likewise interspersed with moral paradoxes, which in more than one instance are said to have excited the indignation of the audience. A line in which the most pious of his heroes distinguishes between the oath of the tongue and that of the mind, in terms which might serve to justify any perjury, became very celebrated, and Aristophanes dwells upon it², apparently as a striking illustration of the sophistical spirit. It seems clear that these, and others of the novelties just mentioned, cannot have been designed to gain the general applause of the

¹ Ran. 858.

² Ibid. 101. 1467. Thesm. 275.

audience. Though we must reject a story told by some of his Greek biographers, which indeed is at variance with chronology, that the fate of his master Anaxagoras deterred him from philosophical pursuits, and led him to turn his thoughts to the drama, we might still wonder at his indiscretion, if it had not appeared probable that he aimed at gratifying the taste, not so much of the multitude, as of that class of persons which took pleasure in the new learning, and was in fact the favorite poet, not so much of the common people, as of a party, which was growing more and more powerful throughout his dramatic career.

Euripides however occupies only a subordinate place among the disciples and supporters of the sophistical school, whom Aristophanes attacked. The person whom he selected as its representative, and on whom he endeavoured to throw the whole weight of the charges which he brought against it, was Socrates. In the *Clouds*, a comedy exhibited in 423, a year after the *Knights* had been received with so much applause, Socrates was brought on the stage under his own name, as the arch-sophist, the master of the freethinking school. The story is of a young spendthrift, who has involved his father in debt by his passion for horses, and having been placed under the care of Socrates is enabled by his instructions to defraud his creditors, but also learns to regard filial obedience and respect, and piety to the gods, as groundless and antiquated prejudices; and it seems hardly possible to doubt that under this character the poet meant to represent Alcibiades¹, whom it perfectly suits in its general outline, and who may have been suggested to the thoughts of the spectators in many ways not now perceived by the reader. It seems at first sight as if in this work Aristophanes must stand convicted either of the foulest motives or of a gross mistake. For the character of Socrates was in most points directly opposed to the principles and practice which he attributes here and elsewhere to the sophists and their followers.

¹ See Suevern's *Essay on the Clouds* translated by Mr. Hamilton.

Socrates was the son of a sculptor of little reputation, and himself for some time practised the art with moderate success. But he abandoned it that he might give himself up to philosophy, though his income was so scanty that it scarcely provided him with the means of subsistence. In his youth he had made himself master of every kind of knowledge then attainable at Athens which his narrow fortune permitted him to acquire, and he purchased the lessons of several of the learned men who came to sojourn there, at a price which he was never well able to spare. Yet when his own talents had attracted a crowd of admirers and among them some of the wealthiest youths, he not only demanded no reward for his instructions, but rejected all the offers which they made to relieve his poverty.¹ We have already seen some specimens of the manner in which he discharged the duties of a soldier and a citizen; how he braved the fury of the multitude, and the resentment of the tyrants, in the cause of justice. It is not our intention here to speak of the place which he holds in the history of Greek philosophy. But we have already had occasion to mention his contests with the sophists, and we have ample evidence that his discourses as well as his life were uniformly devoted to the furtherance of piety and virtue. Yet in the *Clouds* this excellent person appears in the most odious as well as ridiculous aspect; and the play ends with the preparations made by the father of the misguided youth to consume him and his school. The wrong done to him appears the more flagrant on account of its fatal consequences. The wish which the poet intimates at the close of his play, with an earnestness which almost oversteps the limits of comedy, was fulfilled, though not till above twenty years later, after the restoration of the democracy (B.C. 399), when Socrates was prosecuted, and put to death, on a charge which expressed the substance of the imputations cast on him in the *Clouds*; and Aristophanes was believed by their contemporaries to have contributed mainly to this result.

¹ Diog. Laert. ii. 24. 31. Alcibiades offered him land, Charmides slaves.

There are two points with regard to the conduct of Aristophanes which appear to have been placed by recent investigations beyond doubt. It may be considered as certain that he was not animated by any personal malevolence toward Socrates, but only attacked him as an enemy and corrupter of religion and morals; but on the other hand it is equally well established that he did not merely borrow the name of Socrates for the representative of the sophistical school, but designed to point the attention, and to excite the feelings of his audience against the real individual. The only question which seems to be still open to controversy on this subject, concerns the degree in which Aristophanes was acquainted with the real character and aims of Socrates, as they are known to us from the uniform testimony of his intimate friends and disciples. We find it difficult to adopt the opinion of some modern writers¹ who contend that Aristophanes, notwithstanding a perfect knowledge of the difference between Socrates and the sophists, might still have looked upon him as standing so completely on the same ground with them, that one description was applicable to them and him. It is true, as we have already observed, that the poet would willingly have suppressed all reflection and inquiry on many of the subjects which were discussed both by the sophists and by Socrates, as a presumptuous encroachment on the province of authority. But it seems incredible, that if he had known all that makes Socrates so admirable and amiable in our eyes, he would have assailed him with such vehement bitterness, and that he should never have qualified his satire by a single word indicative of the respect which he must then have felt to be due at least to his character and his intentions.

But if we suppose what is in itself much more consistent with the opinions and pursuits of the comic poet, that he observed the philosopher attentively indeed, but from a distance which permitted no more than a

¹ See Roetscher, Aristophanes, &c.

superficial acquaintance, we are then at no loss to understand how he might have confounded him with a class of men, with which he had so little in common, and why he singled him out to represent them. He probably first formed his judgment of Socrates by the society in which he usually saw him. He may have known that his early studies had been directed by Archelaus, the disciple of Anaxagoras; that he had both himself received the instruction of the most eminent sophists, and had induced others to become their hearers¹: that Euripides, who had introduced the sophistical spirit into the drama, and Alcibiades who illustrated it most completely in his life, were in the number of his most intimate friends. Socrates, who never willingly stirred beyond the walls of the city, lived almost wholly in public places, which he seldom entered without forming a circle round him, and opening some discussion connected with the objects of his philosophical researches; he readily accepted the invitations of his friends, especially when he expected to meet learned and inquisitive guests, and probably never failed to give a speculative turn to the conversation. Aristophanes himself may have been more than once present, as Plato represents him, on such occasions. But it was universally notorious, that, wherever Socrates appeared, some subtle disputation was likely to ensue; the method by which he drew out and tried the opinions of others, without directly delivering his own, and even his professions, — for he commonly described himself as a seeker, who had not yet discovered the truth, — might easily be mistaken for the sophistical scepticism, which denied the possibility of finding it. Aristophanes might also, either immediately or through hearsay, have become acquainted with expressions and arguments of Socrates, apparently contrary to the established religion. And indeed it is extremely difficult to determine the precise relation in which the opinions of Socrates stood

¹ Plato Theætet. p. 151. πολλοὺς μὲν δὲ ἐξέδωκε Περὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς τε καὶ δισπισταῖς ἀνδράσι.

to the Greek polytheism. He not only spoke of the gods with reverence, and conformed to the rites of the national worship, but testified his respect for the oracles in a manner which seems to imply that he believed their pretensions to have some real ground. On the other hand he acknowledged one Supreme Being, as the framer and preserver of the universe¹; used the singular and the plural number indiscriminately concerning the object of his adoration², and when he endeavoured to reclaim one of his friends, who scoffed at sacrifices and divination, it was according to Xenophon, by an argument drawn exclusively from the works of the one Creator.³ We are thus tempted to imagine, that he treated many points to which the vulgar attached great importance, as matters of indifference, on which it was neither possible, nor very desirable, to arrive at any certain conclusion: that he was only careful to exclude from his notion of the gods, all attributes which were inconsistent with the moral qualities of the Supreme Being; and that, with this restriction, he considered the popular mythology as so harmless, that its language and rites might be innocently adopted. The observation attributed to him in one of Plato's early works⁴, seems to throw great light on the nature and extent of his conformity to the state religion. Being asked whether he believes the Attic legend of Boreas and Orithuia, he replies, that he should indeed only be following the example of many ingenious men, if he rejected it, and attempted to explain it away⁵; but that such specu-

¹ Mem. iv. 3. 13. ὁ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συντάττων τε καὶ συνιχων.

² Οἱ θεοὶ, ὁ θεός, το θεῖον, το θαυμάσιον.

³ Mem. i. 4. If the conversation has been faithfully reported by Xenophon, Aristodemus shifted his ground in the course of the argument. But he suggests no objection to the inference drawn by Socrates from the being and providence of God, as to the propriety of conforming to the rites of the state religion, and Xenophon himself seems not to have been aware that it might be disputed. He thinks that he has sufficiently retorted the indictment, which charged Socrates with disbelieving the existence of the gods acknowledged by the state, when he has proved that he believed in a deity.

⁴ Phædrus p. 229.

⁵ I should say that she had been carried by the north wind over the cliffs near which she was playing with Phærmacca.

lations, however fine, appeared to him to betoken a mind not very happily constituted; for the subjects furnished for them by the marvellous beings of the Greek mythology were endless¹, and to reduce all such stories to a probable form was a task which required much leisure. This he could not give to it; for he was fully occupied with the study of his own nature. He therefore let those stories alone, and acquiesced in the common belief about them²

The motives which induced Aristophanes to bring Socrates on the stage in preference to any other of the sophistical teachers, are still more obvious than the causes through which he was led to confound them together. Socrates, from the time that he abandoned his hereditary art, became one of the most conspicuous and notorious persons in Athens. There was perhaps hardly a mechanic who had not at some time or other been puzzled or diverted by his questions.³ His features were so formed by nature as to serve with scarcely any exaggeration for a highly laughable mask. His usual mien and gait were no less remarkably adapted to the comic stage. He was subject to fits of absence which seem now and then to have involved him in ludicrous mistakes and disasters. Altogether his exterior was such as might of itself have tempted another poet to find a place for him in a comedy.

Aristophanes justly esteemed the *Clouds* as one of his master-pieces; yet it did not obtain even an inferior prize; and though he altered it for a second exhibition, he either did not venture to produce it again, or, according to another account, the repetition was still more

¹ He mentions the Centaurs, the Chimæra. Καὶ ἐπιρροῖ δὲ ὄχλοι τοιούτων Γοργόνων καὶ Πηγάσων, καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυχανῶν πληθὺ τε καὶ ἀτότιστα (better perhaps ἀποτίαν) τετρατελογῶν τινῶν ζύσεων.

² Χαίρειν ἰάσας ταῦτα, τιθόμηνος δὲ τῷ νομιζομένῳ περὶ αὐτῶν. The last expression is ambiguous; Schleiermacher translates *annehmend was darüber allgemein geglaubt wird*, adopting the common belief about them; but it seems to admit the sense, *complying with the common usage about them*; and this might mean nothing more than, forbearing to explain them away, as others had done. This seems more consistent with the epithets, so strongly expressive of incredulity, which he had just before applied to them.

³ Mem. i. 2. 37.

unsuccessful. We see no sufficient reason for rejecting a tradition preserved by one of the ancient commentators on the poet¹: that this failure was caused by the intrigues of Alcibiades, concerning whom we hear many similar stories, and who probably perceived that he himself was one of the foremost objects of the poet's satire. And it seems not improbable that Socrates was partly screened from the danger which threatened him by the same powerful protection. But as he continued unmolested to the end of the Peloponnesian war, we must also conclude that his poverty, and the favourable impression which was generally produced by intercourse with him among all classes, co-operated with the growing number of his friends and admirers to shield him from persecution. After the Anarchy the state of public feeling was changed in a manner which tended to raise a strong prejudice against him. We find several indications, that during the war, while the public morals were more and more infected with licentiousness, and while the new sceptical opinions were spreading among the upper classes, superstition was gaining ground in the great body of the people. The proceedings and disclosures which followed the mutilation of the Hermes-busts, are not to be overlooked as illustrations of the state of religion, though they were the result of political intrigues. But the remains of the old comedy contain many allusions to the introduction of new rites, all of a mystic and enthusiastic nature, and belonging to foreign and barbarous superstitions, which seem either to have been newly imported during this period into Athens, or to have attracted a greater number of devotees than before, especially among the women. Such were the orgies of the Thracian goddess Cotytto, those of the god Sabazius, the Phrygian Bacchus, the worship of Rhea or Cybele, and of Adonis. Some of these rites appear, like the Roman Bacchanalia, to have been used as a cover for the grossest licentiousness: as those secret orgies of Cotytto, which were the subject of a play of

¹ Argument ii. Lekk.

Eupolis, by which he is said to have provoked the resentment of Alcibiades whom he must therefore have represented as partaking in them.¹ Others only afforded an opportunity to impostors of profiting by vulgar credulity, and their credit was promoted by a great mass of literary forgeries, especially by numerous works bearing the revered names of Orpheus and Musæus², in which the authority of the most remote antiquity was claimed for these institutions, and their objects were described in language which bewildered the understanding, no less than the rites themselves excited the senses. It was generally noticed as an ill omen, that the festival of Adonis, which was celebrated by the women with the representation of funeral exsequies, fell on the day on which the Sicilian expedition was decreed.³ And Aristophanes, in the passage where he alludes to this fact, intimates that such superstitions had not been long prevalent, and that they were attended with pernicious effects on female manners.⁴ It seems probable that their introduction, or at least their more extensive diffusion, may be ascribed to the influence of the pestilence, both in its immediate effects, and its remoter consequences. It may have driven many to seek refuge or consolation under the pressure of public and private distress in new forms of religion, which held out easy modes of expiation to a stricken conscience, and brighter prospects to a desponding spirit. But Aristophanes also gives a hint which may lead us to suspect, that the propagation of these foreign rites was connected with that influx of new citizens, many of whom were of barbarian origin, which, as we have seen, was one result of the calamity.

¹ See Vol. III. p. 332. Compare what is said of the mysteries of Rhea in Schol. Aristoph. Av. 877.

² Plato Polit. ii. p. 364.

³ Plut. Alc. 18. compared with the passage of Aristophanes quoted in the next note.

⁴ Lys. 387.

Ἄρ' ἐξέλαυνε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφή,
 Χῶς τυμτανισμός, καὶ πυκνοὶ Σαδᾶσσοι,
 Ὅ τ' Ἀδωνιασμός, οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν στεγῶν;

⁵ Av. 1525.

Intolerance, as usual, kept pace with superstition and fanaticism. Not long before the exhibition of the Clouds, Diagoras of Melos, having either divulged or derided the mysteries of Eleusis, and in various other ways subjected himself to the charge of atheism, was proscribed at Athens: a decree engraved on a brazen column offered a talent to any one who should kill him, and two to any who should bring him to justice.¹ To intimate the affinity of their opinions, the poet in the play described Socrates as the Melian. Not many years before the end of the war², it became known that Protagoras, for the entertainment of a select circle assembled in the house of Euripides³, had read a work *on the nature of the gods*, which began with a declaration that he was unable to ascertain whether the gods existed or not: because the subject was too obscure, and life too short to investigate it. He was charged with impiety by a person named Pythodorus; a man of some distinction; for he was one of the Four Hundred⁴: and condemned to death, according to some accounts without a regular trial. He however escaped, and was soon after drowned in his voyage to Sicily; but the offensive book was publicly burnt in the Athenian agora, and all who possessed copies were ordered by public proclamation to give them up.⁵ That, while such a spirit prevailed at Athens, Socrates, though he was accused, and probably was generally suspected, of holding like opinions, should have been so long spared, is much more surprising than that he should at last have been prosecuted, even if there had been no peculiar causes to operate against him. For Aristophanes was not the only comic poet who traduced him and his

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1073.

² The lines of Timon, from which it has sometimes been inferred (see Herbst in Petersen's Studien, i. p. 97.) that Protagoras survived Socrates, do not appear to have been intended to convey that meaning.

³ Diog. Laert. ix. 54. According to others it was in the house of one Megacledes. It might have been read in both: but if it was read in the Lyceum, which was the case according to another account, Protagoras can scarcely have been aware of his danger.

⁴ According to Aristotle his accuser was named Euathlus.

⁵ Ὅτι πύρρκα ἀναλεῖσθαι τὰς ἱεροστυ τῶν κεινημένων.

disciples upon the stage¹; he continued to enforce the impression he had made by occasional allusions; and perhaps scarcely a year passed in which a theatrical audience did not hear the name of Socrates coupled with some odious imputations.

The time in which he was brought to trial was one, as we have seen, in which great zeal was professed, and some was undoubtedly felt, for the revival of the ancient institutions, civil and religious, under which Athens had attained her past greatness; and it was to be expected that all who traced the public calamities to the neglect of the old laws and usages, should consider Socrates as a dangerous person. But there were also specious reasons which will shortly be mentioned, for connecting him more immediately with the tyranny under which the city had lately groaned. His accusers however were neither common sycophants, nor do they appear to have been impelled by purely patriotic motives. This however is a point which must always remain involved in great uncertainty. Anytus, who seems to have taken the lead in the prosecution, and probably set it on foot, is said to have been, like Cleon, a tanner, and to have acquired great wealth by his trade²; but he was also a man of great political activity and influence, for the Thirty thought him considerable enough to include him in the same decree of banishment with Thrasybulus and Alcibiades³, and he held the rank of general in the army at Phyle.⁴ With him were associated two persons much inferior to him in reputation and popularity: a tragic poet named Melitus or Meletus, in whose name the indictment was brought, and who, if we may judge of him from the manner in which he is mentioned by Aristophanes, was not very celebrated or successful in his art⁵, and one Lycon,

¹ Eupolis had charged him with a sleight of hand like that described in the Clouds (see Schol. Nub. 180.), and had introduced Chærephon in his *Κολόκες* as a parasite of Callias. Schol. Plat. Bekker, p. 331.

² Schol. Plat. Apol. Socr. p. 331. Bekk. If the Scholiast is right he was the same person of whom Plutarch tells the anecdote, Alc. 4.

³ Xenophon, Hell. ii. 3. 42.

⁴ Lysias, Agorat. p. 137.

⁵ In the *Γενεράδης* he was introduced as one of the deputies sent to the

who is described as an orator¹, and probably furnished all the assistance that could be derived from experience in the proceedings and temper of the law courts. According to an opinion ascribed to Socrates himself², they were all three instigated by merely personal resentment, which he had innocently provoked by his ordinary habits. Chærephon, one of his most ardent disciples and admirers, had, it seems—though the story is one which we can neither safely reject nor satisfactorily explain—consulted the Delphic oracle, perhaps by the advice of Socrates himself, to learn whether he could find any master wiser than Socrates; and the oracle is said to have declared Socrates the wisest of men.³ Socrates however, who was deeply conscious of the imperfection of his own knowledge, and always disavowed all claims to wisdom, was only induced, it is said, by the answer of the oracle to scrutinise more accurately the pretensions of others, and was thus by degrees convinced that the superiority which it attributed to him over other men consisted only in his clearer insight into his own ignorance. Among the numerous persons whom in the course of this inquiry he had convicted of an empty profession of knowledge were, as he is made to assert, his three prosecutors. And in fact Plato, in one of his dialogues, introduces Anytus as vehemently offended with Socrates on account of the turn which his discourse had taken, and as quitting him with a threat, which, if it was ever uttered, was fulfilled by the indictment.⁴

poets in Hades, and was selected for the embassy, with Sannyrion and Cinesias, on account of his light weight, and his natural tendency to the lower regions (ὁ σῶματ' ἥττωτος, αἰδοσέσθαι, καὶ ἰαμὰ Ἐκίσις ἡλιοχρῆστων, to understand the point of the sarcasm we must compare the balancing scene in the *Frogs*, and the remark of Æschylus, 807, ὅτι ἡ πόσις οὐχὶ συντίθηκέ μοι, τούτω δὲ συντίθηκέν). See also the Scholiast on *Av.* 1406.

¹ *Apol.* p. 24. ῥήτωρ. *Diog. Laert.* ii. 38. προκταίμασι πάντα Λόκων ὁ δῆμαγωγός.

² *Apol.* p. 23.

³ Ἄνδρῶν ἀπαντῶν Σωκράτης σοφώτατος. The comparison with Sophocles and Euripides (*Schol. Aristoph. Nub. σοφός Σοφοκλῆς· σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης*) must have been prefixed afterwards. In the *Apology* attributed to Xenophon the answer has been arbitrarily altered.

⁴ *Meno*, p. 95.

It charged him with three distinct offences: "Socrates"—so it ran—"is guilty of not believing in the gods which the state believes in, and of introducing other new divinities¹: he is moreover guilty of corrupting the young." The case was one of those in which the prosecutor was allowed to propose the penalty which he thought due to the crime²; and Melitus proposed death. Before the cause was tried, Lysias composed a speech in defence of Socrates, and brought it to him for his use. But he declined it as too artificial for his character. Among the works of Plato is an apology which purports to be the defence which he really made: and, if it was written by Plato, it probably contains the substance at least of his answer to the charge.³ The tone is throughout that of a man who does not expect to be acquitted; and he represents himself as labouring at once under the obloquy which had been thrown upon him, especially by Aristophanes, and under the ill-will which he had provoked by the performance of that which he considered as a service due to the Delphic god. The first head of the indictment he meets with a direct denial, and observes that he has been calumniously burdened with the physical doctrines of Anaxagoras and other philosophers. But that part which related to the introduction of new divinities he does not positively contradict; he only gets rid of it by a question which involves his adversary in an apparent absurdity. The charge itself seems to have been insidiously framed, so as to aggravate and distort a fact, which was universally notorious, but

¹ Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια εἰσὶν ἄγνοοι. The ambiguity of the word δαιμόνια cannot be easily imitated in English. See the Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 581.

² Ἀγὼν τιμητός.

³ Schleiermacher's arguments for this proposition in his Introduction to the Apology, have not, as far as we know, been hitherto confuted. They are not met by Stallbaum's remarks in his preface to the edition of the Apology in the Bibliotheca Græca. There are however several difficulties, besides those discussed in the article above referred to of the Philological Museum. It is a little singular that the Apology makes no mention of Alcibiades or Critias. This—at least with regard to Critias—would have been natural for Plato, but is not so easily explained with respect to Socrates.

which was then very little understood, and has continued ever since to give rise to a multitude of conjectures. Socrates, who was used to reflect profoundly on the state of his own mind, had it seems gradually become convinced that he was favoured by the gods—who as he believed were always willing to communicate such a knowledge of futurity to their worshippers as was necessary to their welfare—with an inward sign, which he described as a voice, by which indeed he was never positively directed, but was often restrained from action. It was by this inward monitor that he professed to have been prohibited from taking a part in public business. In the latter part of his life its warnings had been more frequently repeated, and it had consequently become a matter of more general notoriety. There was nothing in such a claim at all inconsistent with any doctrine of the Greek theology. But the language of the indictment was meant to insinuate that in this supernatural voice Socrates pretended to hear some new deity, the object of his peculiar worship.

His answer to the third charge is also somewhat evasive, and seems to show that he did not understand its real drift. Nevertheless we have the best evidence, that it was on this the event of the trial mainly turned. Æschines, who had probably often heard all the particulars of this celebrated cause from his father, asserts that Socrates was put to death because it appeared that he had been the instructor of Critias¹; and that the orator neither was mistaken, nor laid too much stress on this fact, seems to be clearly proved by the anxiety which Xenophon shows to vindicate his master on this head. But at the same time we learn from him, that the prosecutors did not confine themselves to this example of the evils which had arisen from the teaching of Socrates, and that they made him answerable for the calamities which Alcibiades had brought upon his country. It

¹ Timarch. p. 24. ὅμως Σωκράτης τὸν σοκιστὴν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι Κριτίας ἰφάνη παιδιδικός.

² Mem. i. 2.

was however no doubt the case of Critias that supplied them with their most efficacious appeals to the passions their hearers. Critias, the bloodthirsty tyrant, the deadly enemy of the people, had once sought the society of Socrates, and had introduced his young cousin and ward Charmides—the same who shared his power and fell by his side—to the philosopher's acquaintance.¹ It was true, and probably was not disputed by the accusers of Socrates, that Critias had afterwards been entirely alienated from him. He had been deeply offended by the freedom with which Socrates reproved his vices. During the Anarchy a law or edict was made forbidding any one to teach the art of speaking.² Xenophon says that it was aimed at Socrates, though he did not profess this art, but it furnished Critias with a pretext for commanding him to abstain from his usual disputations. Socrates had openly spoken against the proceedings of the oligarchical government, he had disobeyed its commands, as we have seen, in the case of Leon. He himself mentioned this transaction in his defence, and expressed his belief that, if the Thirty had retained their power a little longer, they would have put him to death. But these facts were not likely to counteract the impression which must have been made upon his judges by the persuasion that he had contributed to form the mind and character of Critias. There was another point of view in which this example must have appeared to illustrate and confirm the other charges. Critias, whose talents were as brilliant as his passions were headstrong, had stored his mind with all the learning that could be acquired by a man of the highest rank at Athens, and might be considered as a model of an accomplished sophist. He was an eloquent orator, an elegant poet, and speculated on many subjects connected with natural and moral philosophy. He seems to have made no secret of his contempt for the belief of the vulgar, and in one of his works³ avowed his opinion

¹ Plato, Charmides.

² Λόγων τέχνην. Mem. i. 2. 32.

³ Probably, as Brandis observes (Handbuch. i. p. 545. m.) his ἡμετέρας

that all religions were mere political contrivances, designed to supply the defects of human laws. When we consider that Socrates, notwithstanding his conduct during the Anarchy, must have been accounted one of the party of the city, since he remained there throughout the whole period, and that the prosecutors were probably able to give evidence of many expressions apparently unfavourable to democracy, which had fallen from him in his manifold conversations¹, we cannot be surprised that the verdict was against him, but rather, as he himself professed to be, that the votes of the judges were almost equally divided. It appears indeed most likely, that if his defence had been conducted in the usual manner, he would have been acquitted; and that even after the conviction he would not have been condemned to death, if he had not provoked the anger of the court by a deportment which must have been interpreted as a sign of profound contempt or of insolent defiance. When the verdict had been given, the prisoner was entitled to speak in mitigation of the penalty proposed by the prosecutor, and to assign another for the court to decide upon. Socrates is represented as not only disdaining to deprecate its severity by such appeals as were usually made in the Athenian tribunals to the feelings of the jurors, but as demanding reward and honour instead of the punishment of a malefactor; and he was at last only induced by the persuasions and offers of his friends to name a trifling pecuniary mulct. The execution of his sentence was delayed by the departure of the Theoris, the sacred vessel, which carried the yearly offerings of the Athenians to Delos. From the moment that the priest of Apollo had crowned its stern with laurel until its return, the law required that the city should be kept pure from all pollution, and

πολιτείας. How it happened that a part at least of the verses quoted by Sextus Empiricus adv. Math. ix. 54. from this work were also found by Pseudo-Plutarch de Plac. i. 7. in the Sisyphus of Euripides is uncertain. But there seems to be no good reason for doubting that he did so. See Hinrichs de Theram. &c. p. 63.

¹ See Mem. i. 2. 58. iii. 7. 6. and the remark attributed to him about Antisthenes in Diog. La. ii. 31.

therefore that no criminal should be put to death. The opening ceremony had taken place on the day before the trial of Socrates, and thirty days elapsed before the Theoris again sailed into Piræus. During this interval some of his wealthy friends¹ pressed him to take advantage of the means of escape which they could easily have procured for him. But he refused to prolong a life which was so near its natural close—for he was little less than seventy years old—by a breach of the laws, which he had never violated, and in defence of which he had before braved death; and his attachment to Athens was so strong that life had no charms for him in a foreign land.² His imprisonment was cheered by the society of his friends, and was probably spent chiefly in conversation of a more than usually elevated strain. When the summons came, he drank the fatal cup, in the midst of his weeping friends, with as much composure, and as little regret, as the last draught of a long and cheerful banquet. The sorrow which the Athenians are said to have manifested for his death, by signs of public mourning and by the punishments inflicted on his prosecutors³, seems not to be so well attested as the alarm it excited among his most eminent disciples, who perhaps considered it as the signal of a general persecution, and are said to have taken refuge in Megara⁴, and other cities.⁵

¹ Crito more probably than Æschines, to whom Idomeneus attributed the proposal (Diog. La. ii. 60.), for Æschines seems to have been at this time extremely poor.

² Plato Crito, p. 52. b.

³ According to Diog. La. ii. 43. they immediately repented, so as to close the palæstras and the gymnasia, and condemned Anytus and Lycon to banishment, Melitus to death. We also read in Pseudo-Plutarch Vit. x. Orat. that Isocrates appeared in mourning for Socrates the day after his execution.

⁴ Hermodorus in Diog. ii. 106. but the addition *δείσαντας τὴν ἀνάγκην τῶν πελάγων* seems to imply great ignorance or carelessness in the writer.

⁵ Libanius, Socr. Apol. iii. p. 63. Reisk. mentions Corinth, Elis, and Eubœa, among their places of refuge; probably meaning to display his learning. It may, however, be no more than a rhetorical flourish.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS THE YOUNGER.

BEFORE we proceed with the history of the period which followed the close of the Peloponnesian war, our attention must for a time be turned to a series of events, which, though they took place for the most part far beyond the limits of Greece, and did not immediately affect its interests, will be found to be most intimately connected with its final destinies, and with some of the greatest revolutions of the ancient civilised world; and, in the brief account which we are about to give of them, we shall be chiefly guided by this view of their relative importance.

They arose out of the ambition of Cyrus, of whose abilities and enterprising spirit some specimens have been already seen, and were the results of an attempt which he made to place himself on the throne of Persia. He was the second of the four sons of Darius and Parysatis¹, and, according to the customs of the monarchy, his elder brother Artaxerxes was the legitimate heir apparent.² But Cyrus was the first son born to Darius after his accession to the throne, and he was his mother's favourite. She had encouraged him to hope that as Xerxes, through the influence of Atossa, had been preferred to his elder brother who was born while their father was yet in a

¹ Xenophon, only having occasion to mention the two rivals, speaks (*Anab.* i. 1.) as if Darius had no other children by Parysatis. The two younger brothers were named Ostanes and Oxathres. *Plut. Artax.* 1.

² We can find no foundation for Baehr's assertion (in a note on *Plutarch's Artaxerxes*, in *Creuzer's Meletemata*, iii. p. 13.), that the order of succession adopted in the case of Xerxes was the law of the monarchy (*lege quâdam cautum ut e regis filiis non alius maximus natu patri in regno succederet, quam qui maximus fuit natu patre jam regnum adepto atque administrante*). The reigning king seems always to have had the power of appointing his successor, but the law or custom simply regarded primogeniture. *Herodot.* vii. 2.

private station, so she should be able to persuade Darius to set aside Artaxerxes, and declare Cyrus his successor. In the mean while he was invested with the government of the western provinces, and the extraordinary command which we have seen him administering in a manner so fatal to the interests of Athens. This appointment he seems from the first to have considered as a step to the throne ; and though he continued to rely chiefly on his mother's influence, he was perhaps aware that, even if her intrigues proved successful, he might still have need of all the aid he could obtain, to secure the object of his ambition. But he also had sagacity and courage enough to perceive that should he be disappointed in his first expectations, the co-operation of the Greeks might still enable him to force his way to the throne. It was with this view that he so zealously embraced the side of Sparta in her struggle with Athens, both as the power which he found in the most prosperous condition, and which had the fairest prospect of triumphing with his assistance, and as that which was most capable of furthering his designs. The treasure which he spent in her cause he regarded as part of the price which he had to pay for the attainment of his wishes ; and hence, when he was called away to his father's court, he placed his whole revenue, as we have seen, at Lysander's disposal, with instructions and admonitions, which proved how deeply he felt his own interest to be concerned in his success.

According to Plutarch's authors¹, Cyrus went to attend his father's sick bed with sanguine hopes that his mother had accomplished her purpose, and that he was sent for to receive the crown. He took with him the small Greek force which we have mentioned, less perhaps with a view to his immediate security, than to the effect which the report of the treatment they experienced might have in attracting other Greek adventurers into his service. But on his arrival at court he saw himself disappointed in his expectations, and found that he had only

¹ Artax. 2.

come to witness his father's death, and his brother's accession to the throne. He accompanied Artaxerxes, whom the Greeks distinguished by the epithet *Mnemon*¹, to Pasargadæ, where the Persian kings went through certain mystic ceremonies of inauguration, and Tissaphernes took this opportunity of charging him with a design against his brother's life. It would seem from Plutarch's account that one of the officiating priests was suborned to support the charge; though it is by no means certain that it was unfounded. Artaxerxes was convinced of its truth, and determined on putting his brother to death; and Cyrus was only saved by the passionate intreaties of Parysatis, in whose arms he had sought refuge from the executioner. The character of Artaxerxes, though weak and timid, seems not to have been naturally unamiable; the ascendancy which his mother, notwithstanding her undissembled predilection for her younger son, exercised over him, was the source of the greater part of his crimes and misfortunes. On this occasion he suffered it to overpower both the suspicions suggested by Tissaphernes, and the jealousy which the temper and situation of Cyrus might reasonably have excited. He not only pardoned his brother, but permitted him to return to his government.

Cyrus felt himself not obliged, but humbled, by his rival's clemency; and the danger he had escaped only strengthened his resolution to make himself as soon as possible independent of the power to which he owed his life. Immediately after his return to Sardis, he began to make preparations for the execution of this design. The chief difficulty was to keep them concealed from Artaxerxes until they were fully matured; for, though his mother who was probably from the beginning acquainted with his purpose, was at court, always ready to put the most favourable construction on his conduct, Tissaphernes was at hand to watch it with malignant attention, and to send the earliest information of any

¹ It would seem to be implied that he was celebrated for the tenacity of his memory, yet Plutarch had no anecdotes to tell on the subject.

suspicious movement to the king. Cyrus however devised a variety of pretexts to blind Tissaphernes and the court, while he collected an army for the expedition which he was meditating. His main object was to raise as strong a body of Greek troops as he could ; for it was only with such aid that he could hope to overpower an adversary who had the whole force of the empire at his command : and he knew enough of the Greeks to believe, that their superiority over his countrymen in skill and courage was sufficient to compensate for almost any inequality of numbers. One pretext was furnished by the state of the Greek cities, which had formerly been considered as belonging to the satrapy of Tissaphernes, who still claimed dominion over them. Cyrus perhaps contended that they had been subjected to his authority by the general terms of his father's grant, which constituted him governor of the sea-coast¹, or that they were appendant to the satrapy of Lydia.² However this may be, he encouraged them to transfer their obedience from Tissaphernes to himself ; and all, except Miletus, declared for him, and received the garrisons which he sent to take possession of them. But he still affected to apprehend that they were threatened with the attacks of Tissaphernes, and ordered his commanders to strengthen their garrisons with as many of the best Peloponnesian troops as money could procure. The whole body of mercenaries thus collected he placed under the command of Xenias, an Arcadian, the leader of the band of Greeks which had escorted him on his last journey to his father's court. Miletus had been prevented from following the example of the other Ionian cities by the timely intervention of Tissaphernes, who put some of the malcontents to death, and banished others. The exiles took refuge at the court of Cyrus, and afforded him another welcome pretext

¹ Xen. Hell. i. 4. 2. ἀρξάντων ἐπὶ θαλάσση.

² Manso indeed (Sparta, iii. 2. p. 33.) asserts that Artaxerxes was prevailed on by his mother to annex the sea-coast to the satrapy of Cyrus, and allowed him (!) to make war on Tissaphernes. But the passages to which he refers (Anab. i. 1. 6—8. and ix. 9.) contain not a word in proof of this statement, but rather imply the contrary.

for raising a sea and land force, with which he laid siege to Miletus. This feud with Tissaphernes was especially serviceable to him in stilling the suspicions of Artaxerxes, to whom he addressed several submissive letters, requesting that the contested cities might be placed under his authority: Parysatis seconded these solicitations, and thus contributed to persuade the king, that his brother's thoughts were engrossed by this petty object. He was too well pleased with the quarrel, and with the expence in which it involved Cyrus, to interfere for the purpose of ending it, especially, as his brother regularly transmitted the tribute due from the cities which he held, to the royal treasury.

Adventurers of every class, but especially Greeks whose talents or station rendered them fit instruments for the designs of Cyrus, were sure to find an asylum at his court, and were soon won by his affability and munificence. Among those who took refuge there was the Spartan Clearchus, whose name last occurred to us when Byzantium during his absence was betrayed to Alcibiades.¹ It seems that he was called to account for the loss of the place, which was deeply felt at Sparta, and sentenced to a fine.² Yet when, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Byzantians, and the other Greeks on the adjacent coast of Thrace, were obliged to apply to Sparta for succour against the attacks of the neighbouring barbarians, he was again sent by the ephors to take the command there.³ But he had proceeded no further than the Isthmus, when they began to repent of their choice, and despatched a messenger to recall him; but he refused to return, and pursued his journey to Byzantium. He found admission there, notwithstanding

¹ Above, p. 97.

² Polyænus, ii. 2. 7.

³ Diodorus xiv. 12. Xenophon Anab. ii. 6. 2. Schneider very justly remarks that Xenophon's account of the proceedings of Clearchus can hardly be reconciled with that of Polyænus in the passage just cited, where Clearchus is represented as having never returned to Sparta after the loss of Byzantium, before he established his tyranny there. It is the more surprising that Schneider should say elsewhere (on Xen. Hell. i. 1. 35.) that Polyænus gives a more accurate account of this matter than Diodorus, whose narrative, as he himself observes, is not inconsistent with Xenophon's.

the severity which had made him odious during his former command: the present danger perhaps effaced all recollection of the past: but he took advantage of the confidence reposed in him, to put to death the magistrates and many of the principal citizens, to banish others, and to enrich himself with the confiscation of their property, which enabled him to raise a strong body of mercenaries, and to make himself absolute master of the city. His tyranny became so oppressive, that the Spartans thought it proper, either for the sake of the Byzantians, or for their own honour, to interfere. If we may believe Diodorus, though he had been condemned to death for his contumacy, the government first attempted by an embassy to persuade him to lay down his usurped authority, and on his refusal sent an armament under the command of Panthoides to reduce him to submission. He did not venture to await its approach at Byzantium, but removed his troops and treasure to Selymbria, and not long afterwards, having been defeated and shut up in the town, seeing his affairs desperate, made his escape, and proceeded to the court of Sardis. Cyrus — an excellent judge of character and abilities — soon discerned the value of his military talents, and his fearless and enterprising, though stern and imperious spirit: he entrusted him with a sum of money for levying troops, which were avowedly destined to protect the Thracian Chersonesus against its barbarian neighbours, but were always in readiness for other purposes. Clearchus executed this commission so ably, and with so much benefit to the Greek towns on the Hellespont, that they aided him with voluntary contributions, and thus strengthened the force which waited on the orders of Cyrus in this quarter.

A Thessalian named Aristippus, who had been previously connected with him by ties of hospitality, met with an equally friendly reception, when he came to request a subsidy to enable him to carry on a contest in which he was engaged with an opposite faction at home. He asked but for the means of raising 2000 men, and

of maintaining them for three months. Cyrus gave as much as sufficed for twice the number and the time, and thus might reckon on finding another body of troops at his disposal. At the same time, he commissioned other Greek officers to levy troops for the war against Tissaphernes, and directed Proxenus, a Theban who had been attracted to his court by the hope of raising his fortunes, to collect forces for an expedition against the Pisidians, who, strong in the fastnesses of their mountains, infested the borders of his satrapy, and defied the king's authority. While he thus cultivated the good-will and employed the services of the Greeks, he neglected no opportunity of winning the affections of his own countrymen; and, according to Plutarch¹, there were many Persians who felt that the safety of the monarchy demanded a ruler of his character, and gave him assurances which led him to believe that he should find a general disposition in his favour even in the upper provinces.

More than a year was spent in these preparations; and when the time approached for the decisive step, he sent envoys to Sparta to claim a return for the great services which he had recently rendered to the commonwealth. According to Plutarch he accompanied his request with promises of reward to all adventurers who should take part in his enterprise, in a style of oriental exaggeration, and with a vaunting comparison of his own merits with his brother's, and the terms in which Xenophon reports his application to the Spartan government seem also to show that he at least gave sufficient intimations of the real object of his expedition. Lysander, whom after his victory at Ægos-potami he had honoured with a magnificent present—a model of a galley three cubits long in ivory and gold²—undoubtedly exerted all his influence in his behalf; and the ephors were disposed to aid an ally to whom they owed

¹ Artax. 6.

² Plut. Lys. 18. It was deposited at Delphi, in the treasury of Brasiliæ and the Acanthians.

so much, and who might again be useful. They directed their admiral Samius, who was cruising in the *Ægean* with a squadron of twenty-five galleys, to obey his orders, and sent 700 heavy infantry under Cheirisophus to join his land forces.

In the spring of 401 Cyrus began his march from Sardis. He had been previously joined by Xenias with all the troops which could be spared from the garrisons of the Greek towns, amounting to 4000 heavy infantry, and by those which had been employed in the siege of Miletus. The Milesian exiles were also readily induced to take part in the expedition by the promises of Cyrus that as soon as he had accomplished his own object, he would attend to their interests, and would not rest until he had restored them to their homes. Of the besieging forces one division, under Socrates an Achæan, consisted of 500 heavy infantry; another under Pasion, a Megarian, of 300 heavy armed, and as many targeteers.¹ Proxenus had also arrived with 1500 heavy infantry and 500 light troops; and Sophænetus, an Arcadian of Stymphalus, one of the officers charged with the levies for the war against Tissaphernes, had brought 1000 heavy infantry. This was the whole of the Greek force with which Cyrus left Sardis. He had summoned Clearchus to join him with all his troops, and had called upon Aristippus to settle his differences as soon as possible with his political adversaries, and to send over the men whom he had been employing in Thessaly. But he did not wait for these reinforcements, which he expected would overtake him on his march. The army which he had raised from his barbarian subjects amounted to about 100,000 men. His admiral Tamos, an Egyptian, who had been, as we have seen, one of the lieutenants of Tissaphernes, but had abandoned his service for that of Cyrus, was recalled from Miletus, which

¹ According to another reading, which happens remarkably to coincide with Xenophon's reckoning, Pasion commanded 700 men (*ἑπταχσίους ἀνδράς*) whom we should suppose to have been heavy-armed. But, as Schneider observes, this is not Xenophon's usual mode of speaking.

he had been blockading with twenty-five galleys¹, to Ephesus, where he was to be joined by the Laconian squadron, and then to sail eastwards, and support the operations of the army. The declared object of the expedition was the extermination of the refractory Pisidians. But the scale of the armament, more especially the naval preparations, roused the suspicions of Tissaphernes, who hastened to put the king on his guard.

It soon indeed became evident that the avowed purpose of the expedition was not the real one. Cyrus bent his march toward the south-east without turning aside to invade Pisidia. At Colossæ in Phrygia he was joined by Meno, a Thessalian adventurer, whom Aristippus had sent with as many of his mercenaries as he could part with. They amounted to no more than 1000 heavy armed and 500 targeteers. At Celænæ, near the sources of the Mæander, he halted for thirty days; probably to allow time for the other reinforcements which he expected. A royal palace, which had been built here by Xerxes, and a park abounding in game, may perhaps have induced him to protract his sojourn. Here he was joined by Clearchus, who brought 1000 heavy infantry, 800 Thracian targeteers, and 200 Cretan bowmen. Sosias, a Syracusan, also arrived here, with 1000 heavy infantry², and 1000 more were brought by Sophanetus, apparently the Arcadian already mentioned, who may have been left behind at Sardis for this purpose. Here Cyrus reviewed his Greek forces in the park: they amounted according to Xenophon to 11,000 heavy infantry and about 2000 targeteers.³ After traversing a part of Mysia, he arrived

¹ Anab. i. 4. 2. Diodorus xiv. 19, makes the Persian fleet amount to fifty galleys, before it was joined by any Lacedæmonian squadron.

² According to another reading 300.

³ Schneider has devoted one of his long and elaborate notes to a computation and critical examination of the numbers which compose this sum: with what success and profit to his readers may be inferred from the fact, that he has altogether omitted to take into the account the 1000 heavy infantry, and 500 targeteers, commanded by Meno. According to the readings which he himself adopts in his text for the numbers assigned to Pasion and Sosias, there would be an excess of 300 over the 11,000, and

at a town, the name and situation of which are very obscure — Xenophon calls it Cayster-plain¹ — where he was detained by a new embarrassment. His treasury seems to have been exhausted by the expense of his preparations, and the pay of the Greeks was three months in arrear. They began to besiege the door of his lodging with importunate demands, which he found it very difficult to appease. But he was relieved by the appearance of Epyaxa, the consort of Syennesis, the king, or hereditary satrap of Cilicia², who came escorted by a guard of Cilicians and Greeks of Aspendus, either attracted by his rank and reputation or on a secret mission from her husband, who probably divined his design, and desired to remain neutral; and either to propitiate his favour, or as Xenophon intimates, captivated by his personal qualities, furnished him with the means of satisfying the claims of the troops, and of giving them a month's pay in advance. She afterwards accompanied him on his march toward the frontiers of her husband's territories. At Tyriæum, a town seated on one of the great plains of Phrygia, in compliance, as

of 100 over the 2000. This would perhaps agree very well with Xenophon's expression as to the latter number (*ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους*) but it is not probable that he would have stated the other number without any such qualifying preposition, if he had been aware that it was short by 300 of the precise amount. But in his list Schneider adopts the readings which he has rejected in his text, giving 700 men to Pasion, and 300 to Sosias, and thus makes the whole amount of the heavy infantry to be 10,000, which, with the addition of Meno's 1000, is exactly Xenophon's number. And, according to the same readings, if the Cretan bowmen are included among the targeteers, their sum will likewise be just 2000; namely:

Clearchus	-	-	1000
Proxenus	-	-	500
Meno	-	-	500
			2000

Yet Schneider exclaims in the same note: *Miror equidem Interpretes, qui sedere ad rationes noluerunt.*

¹ According to Mannert's conjecture, *Κιστρὸν πιδίαν*, the town meant would be Sagalassus in Pisidia. But not to speak of the improbability that it should have been so described) if Cyrus had really invaded Pisidia, which was the avowed object of his hostility, Xenophon could scarcely have failed to make at least some such remark as he does afterwards about Lycaoni.

² Xenophon gives him the title of king, *Anab. i. 2. 12.*; but afterwards *vii. 8. 25.* numbers him among the satraps, *ἀρχόντες τῆς βασιλείας χώρας*. Ctesias is made by Photius to say of him, *ἀντὶ συνιμάχει Κύρου τε καὶ Αἰγαίου*.

it was generally believed, with her wish, he reviewed his army. When the whole host had passed by, he sent his interpreter to the Greek generals with orders to exhibit their manner of charging. The Greeks were drawn up by themselves four deep, uniformly equipt, with brazen helmets, greaves, and scarlet tunics; and their shields were burnished for the occasion. The word was given; the trumpet sounded, and the phalanx advanced, with spears couched; but by degrees the men quickened their step, while they raised their war shouts, and, at length as they approached the tents, ran at full speed. The followers of the camp, and the barbarians in general, were thrown into consternation by their onset; and Epyaxa herself was so much alarmed by the novelty of the spectacle, that she alighted from her chariot, and fled with the terrified crowd. Cyrus, more anxious about the success of his enterprise than the fate of the Persian monarchy, was delighted at observing the impression which these few Greeks made upon the barbarian multitude, and the contempt which they manifested by their noisy laughter for the fears they excited.

Lycaonia, as a hostile territory, was given up to the ravages of the Greeks. But when the army had reached the borders of Cappadocia, Cyrus directed Meno to escort the Cilician princess into her own country by the shorter of the two roads which led to it, while he himself, with the rest of his forces, took the other. Each of these roads crossed the mountains which bounded Cilicia on the north-west through a defile which might have been easily guarded by a few men against a host. The pass toward which Cyrus was marching was said to be occupied by Syennesis himself; and Cyrus halted for a day in the plain to ascertain his movements. But the day after advice came, that the Cilicians had left the pass clear. Their retreat was caused by the intelligence which their king had received, that Meno had already entered his dominions, and that the armament commanded by Tamos had appeared off the coast. Cyrus descended into the plains of Cilicia, and arrived

at Tarsus the capital, without interruption. He there found Meno and Epyaxa, who had reached it five days sooner. Her husband and the greater part of the inhabitants had retired to a stronghold in the mountains, and Meno's troops had sacked the city and the royal palace, to revenge the loss which they had suffered in crossing the frontiers, when a hundred of the heavy infantry, who had been separated from the main body, had either missed their way and perished, or had been cut off, while engaged in plunder, by the Cilicians.¹ This occurrence seems to have disposed Syennesis—though he affected entire independence—to listen more willingly to the persuasions of his queen, and to come to an interview with Cyrus, who bestowed on him the presents which were accounted most honourable at the Persian court—golden arms and ornaments—and undertook to protect his territory from further spoliation, and in return received a large subsidy.

But as it was now clear that the invasion of Pisidia was not the object of the expedition, the real design of Cyrus began to be generally suspected by the Greeks; and they refused to follow him any further: it was not, they said, to be led against the king that they had entered his service. Clearchus, who at first attempted to compel his own soldiers to continue their march, narrowly escaped stoning, and was forced to call them together, and assure them that he did not intend to thwart their wishes, or to abandon them, and that deeply as he was indebted to Cyrus, he should be ready to sacrifice his friendship to their good-will. This declaration was warmly applauded, and induced more than 2000 of the troops who had been serving under Xenias and Pasion to join his corps. But he sent a secret message to Cyrus, who was much distressed by the mutiny, encouraging him to hope that all would

¹ Xenophon states the two reports as equally probable; and, vehemently as he disliked Meno, he is so far from talking of *his* *violences at Tarsus*, and *his* *intolerable rapines as he traversed the country*, that he does not impute the slightest misconduct to him; and expressly attributes the racking of Tarsus to the rage of the soldiers.

end well, though it would be necessary for a time to keep up a show of variance between them; and, as if he feared the prince's resentment, he refused, when publicly sent for, to go to him. He then called another assembly, which was attended not only by his own men, but by as many as chose of the rest: pointed out to them the dangers and difficulties of their situation, shut up as they were in a foreign land, and exposed to the displeasure of Cyrus, who might not only withhold the pay to which they had no longer any claim, but might prove as formidable an enemy as he had been a munificent friend; and proposed that they should deliberate on the measures now to be adopted. Among those who offered their opinions were some whom Clearchus had instructed to make the most extravagant proposals, which he hoped would more deeply impress the audience with a right sense of their perilous condition, and would thus lead them more readily to resign themselves to his guidance. One of these speakers, professing the utmost eagerness to return to Greece, moved that they should immediately lay in a stock of provisions, and prepare for their departure, and that they should ask Cyrus for ships to carry them home, or, if he refused them, for a guide to lead them in safety through his territories; or, if they could not even obtain this request, that they should put themselves in battle array, and send a detachment to seize the passes, before they were occupied by Cyrus, or by the Cilicians, whose enmity they had provoked by so many aggressions. Clearchus then rose to say, that for various reasons he must decline taking the command in this expedition, if it should be resolved on; but that he was willing to obey any general whom they might elect in his room. It was now the turn of another speaker to point out the absurdity of the counsel which had been given, and to show that they might as well request Cyrus to guard the passes for them, as trust him with the choice of ships or of guides, to help them to desert him: nor was it probable that they would be allowed

to provide themselves with the means of subsistence for such a purpose from the market which was held in the camp of the barbarians, and as little could they hope to effect their retreat unobserved. He therefore proposed, that they should depute some of their number, with Clearchus at their head, to Cyrus, and inquire what the object was for which he required their services. If it was one similar to that for which he had before employed Xenias and his band, that they should proceed with him ; but if it was some more arduous and dangerous enterprise, that they should request him not to insist on leading them farther without their consent. This course was adopted, and in reply to their question Cyrus professed that he was marching against an enemy, the satrap Abrocomas, who, as he heard, was posted on the Euphrates: if they should not find him there, they might then deliberate on their next movements. Abrocomas was one of the generals of Artaxerxes, and had an army of 300,000 men under his command. It is difficult to believe that this fact was unknown to the Greeks, or that after Cyrus's last declaration they felt any doubt that he was leading them against the king ; though Xenophon only says, that they suspected it. But Clearchus seems to have succeeded in convincing them that there was as much danger in stopping as in going forward ; and the promise of an addition of one-half to their pay, fixed their determination of continuing their march.

At Issus, near the eastern frontier of Cilicia, the army met the fleet, under Tamos, and the Spartan Admiral Pythagoras, who had superseded Samius, and now brought thirty-two galleys, with Cheirisophus and his troops on board.¹ The object with which Cyrus had caused this maritime force to attend the move-

¹ Diodorus, xiv. 21., says that the Spartan government wished to preserve the appearance of neutrality between Cyrus and his brother, and therefore affected to consider the troops of Cheirisophus as volunteers. This would imply that the designs of Cyrus were well known at Sparta. But the co-operation of the Spartan admiral could not easily have been reconciled with professions of neutrality

ments of his army, was to provide against an obstacle which he expected to encounter on the northern confines of Syria, where his road lay through two passes, between the chain of Amanus and the sea, strong by nature, and fortified by art. The northern pass—the Gates of Cilicia—was guarded by a Cilician garrison; but since the treaty concluded with Syennesis, no resistance was to be feared on this side. The Syrian Gates—which were parted from the other by a ravine, and the bed of a narrow stream—Cyrus had expected to find occupied by some of the king's troops; and Abrocomas, whom he professed to be seeking on the Euphrates, had been sent down to Phœnicia apparently for this purpose. Cyrus had intended, if he found him in possession of the pass, to transport a body of troops by sea to the other side, and to attack him at once in front and rear. But Abrocomas, though his army was three times as strong as that of Cyrus, did not venture to await his approach, deterred perhaps chiefly by his naval preparations, but possibly in part also by the desertion of a body of Greek mercenaries—400 heavy armed—who left him, and joined the camp of Cyrus at Issus. Both passes were found unguarded, and the army reached the Phœnician seaport of Myriandrus without opposition. During the halt which it made there, Xenias and Pasion embarked with their most valuable property, and sailed away for Greece: offended, as it was believed, with Cyrus, because he had permitted Clearchus to retain the command of their men, who had joined his division at Tarsus. A report ran through the Greek camp, that Cyrus meant to send some galleys in pursuit of them; and though all supposed that their punishment, if they should be overtaken, would be severe, there were many who thought that it would be well deserved, and hoped that they might not escape. Cyrus however assembled the generals, and assured them that he had no intention of pursuing the fugitives, though he had galleys enough, and knew the direction which they had taken; and though

their wives and children were in his power—for they had been deposited in the custody of his garrison at Tralles—he did not even mean to detain them. He would let the past services of the two officers compensate for their ungenerous desertion. This well-timed display of magnanimity produced an effect on the minds of the Greeks, which more than made amends for the loss which occasioned it.

Belesis, the king or satrap of Syria and Assyria, seems to have adhered to Artaxerxes, and Cyrus in revenge burnt his palace and laid waste his beautiful park, which lay near the source of the Dardas on the road to the Euphrates. But he reached the river at Thapsacus without seeing an enemy. As it was here that he meant to cross into Mesopotamia, it was no longer possible to conceal his purpose, and he therefore sent for the Greek generals, and bad them inform the troops, that his expedition was directed against the King, and endeavour to prevail on them to follow him. In the assembly which they called to deliberate on this message, some complaints were heard, that the generals had long been acquainted with the designs of Cyrus; but as they had been at least suspected by every man in the army, before it left Tarsus, it is probable that no very vehement indignation was felt on this account; and it would rather seem that they affected that which they expressed to raise the price of their services. For when Cyrus had promised them a largess of five minas a-piece, as soon as they should have arrived at Babylon, and their full pay until he had brought them back to Ionia, the greater part consented to proceed. But before this plan had been adopted, Meno persuaded his own troops to cross the Euphrates, and thus to earn the favour of Cyrus without any sacrifice or risk. “If the rest followed their example they would have the merit of taking the lead; if not, they might still have that of reluctantly joining the retreat of their countrymen.” Cyrus was highly pleased with this example of zeal, and rewarded the men with praise and promises, and Meno himself,

as was generally believed, with magnificent presents. He then crossed the river, followed by the whole army. Abrocomas in his retreat had burnt the boats which, in ordinary seasons, afforded the only passage at Thapsacus ; but at this juncture the river happened to be so low that the men were able to ford it, and found it nowhere more than breast high. This was accounted a manifest interposition of heaven in favour of Cyrus, to whom the river appeared to do homage as to its future sovereign.

He then pursued his march over the desert along the left bank with the utmost expedition ; anxious, Xenophon says, to come up with his brother, before he could have time to collect the forces of his vast empire. Yet Artaxerxes had already raised 1,200,000 men, including the division detached under Abrocomas to meet the enemy in Phœnicia, which however had not yet rejoined the main army. Cyrus must, we should have supposed, have been aware, that, if with his comparatively small force he was able to make head against nearly a million of men, he had no reason to fear any addition which might be made to the numbers of such a host, which would only render it more unwieldy, and would thus favour his prospect of victory. But perhaps he hoped that his brother might not so clearly perceive this, and might be induced for the sake of increasing his army to fall back before him upon the upper provinces ; a step which would perhaps have given the empire to Cyrus without a battle, and which, according to Plutarch, had been already agitated in the royal council. By a rapid march he would either drive the king to this retreat, or find him, in his own opinion, unprepared.¹

The army suffered much during this march from hunger and thirst : the provisions of the Greeks were exhausted, and they were obliged to replenish their store

¹ The remark which Xenophon makes on this occasion, that the Persian empire was powerful in the extent of its territory, and the numbers of its population, but weak on account of the time required to collect its forces, sounds oddly, when we reflect, that Artaxerxes, though taken by surprise, had, according to his own statement, already raised 1,200,000 men.

at high prices in the market of the barbarian camp. One of the slighter difficulties of the way afforded Cyrus an opportunity of exhibiting the devotedness of his attendants; whether more to excite the admiration or the contempt of the Greeks, we do not venture to pronounce. Some of the waggons had stuck fast in the mud in a narrow part of the road, and obstructed the march. Cyrus ordered his two interpreters, with a detachment of the barbarian troops, to extricate them. But as the work seemed to proceed slowly, affecting to be angry at the delay, he directed the courtiers who stood round him, Persians of high rank, to hasten it. They instantly threw aside the more cumbrous part of their gorgeous dress, and leaping into the mud with all their splendid ornaments, shared the labour of the common soldiers with such alacrity, that the obstacle was speedily removed. During a halt which the army made to take in provisions from a city seated on the opposite bank of the river, which the men crossed on skins stuffed with hay, a quarrel arose in the Greek camp, which was near ending in bloodshed, and drew from Cyrus a remarkable acknowledgment of the different light in which he viewed his Greek and his barbarian forces. A dispute had taken place between a soldier of Clearchus and one of Meno's. Clearchus, to whom an appeal was made, decided in favour of his own follower, and punished the other as an aggressor with blows.¹ His comrades were indignant, as at an affront offered to the whole body; and Clearchus, happening to pass the same day through Meno's encampment, was assailed by them with stones, and still more dangerous missiles, and narrowly escaped with his life. He immediately brought up his own troops to revenge this insult, and Proxenus tried in vain to mediate between the antagonists. Clearchus was only appeased by the remonstrances of Cyrus, who bad the Greeks remember

¹ Πληγὰς ἐπέβαλεν. It is probable that Clearchus, according to the Spartan custom of which we find so many instances, administered this discipline on the spot with his own truncheon.

that their discord, if they should turn their arms against one another, would prove fatal not only to him, but to themselves. For their barbarian comrades, if ever they saw an opportunity of overpowering them, would show themselves still more hostile to them than the king's troops.

Not long after they had left the scene of this occurrence traces appeared of a hostile body of cavalry, supposed to amount to about 2000, which, preceding the march of the army, laid the country waste before it. Orontes, a Persian of the highest rank, related to the royal family, and esteemed among his countrymen for his military skill, took occasion from this annoyance to request Cyrus to place 1000 horse at his disposal, and undertook with this force to cut off the enemy by an ambuscade. Orontes had experienced the generosity of Cyrus on two previous occasions, and had abused it. After the accession of Artaxerxes, being commander of the garrison of Sardis, he had held the citadel, pleading the king's orders, against Cyrus, and was only reduced to submission by force. The prince however, though he considered his resistance as an act of rebellion, pardoned him, and received him into favour. Orontes, nevertheless, revolted from him, and aided the Mysians in making war on his territory. Yet even after this proof of his animosity, Cyrus, when he had him in his power, again spared him, and after receiving the usual pledges for his future loyalty, restored him to his former station at his court : and he now consented to entrust him with the force he asked for. But an intercepted letter, from Orontes to the King, afforded clear proof that it was his intention to desert with it to the enemy. Cyrus then caused him to be arrested, and brought to trial in his own tent, which, by his command, was surrounded by a guard of Greek troops. Seven Persians, the principal men of his court, were assembled to sit in judgment on the case ; and Clearchus, alone of the Greek generals, was associated with them. Cyrus himself undertook the part of accuser, and after having

stated the facts, which were admitted by the culprit, called upon Clearchus to deliver his opinion first. His sentence was for capital punishment¹; it was confirmed by the unanimous concurrence of the other judges, and immediately executed. The judges themselves, at the command of Cyrus, set the example of seizing the criminal, and he was then dragged away by the ministers of death. The Greeks remarked, that even on his way to the place of the execution, which was strictly private, his inferiors saluted him with the wonted signs of respect.

The army had now entered the Babylonian territory, and at the third halting-place after the trial of Orontes, Cyrus, having received information which led him to expect that he should meet the enemy the next morning, reviewed all his forces at midnight. The number of the Greeks is stated by Xenophon on this occasion as between ten and eleven thousand heavy armed, and 2400 light infantry; that of the barbarians at 100,000. That of the cavalry is not mentioned: but a body of 600, which guarded the person of Cyrus, seems to have been distinguished from the rest by the equipments both of the horses and their riders, which were in part after the Greek fashion. We also hear of 1000 Paphlagonian horse, and of about twenty chariots armed with scythes. Cyrus assigned the command of the right wing to Clearchus, of the left to Meno. The next morning deserters from the royal camp brought intelligence which prepared him for the enemy's approach; and he summoned the generals and other principal officers of the Greek army to a council of war, and having concerted his plan of operations with them, exhorted them "to show themselves worthy of the high esteem which he had conceived for their nation, which rendered them in his eyes of more account than a whole host of barbarians; and of that

¹ After the prisoner's confession, the only question remaining was as to his punishment. How the opinion of Clearchus, that it was inexpedient to spare his life, violated any principle of law or justice known to the Greeks, Xenophon perhaps was not enough a philosopher to perceive.

liberty which he considered as the most precious of all their advantages. He cautioned them not to be startled by the clamour of the enemy ; for this was all that they would find formidable in his onset. He was almost ashamed to think, how contemptible the Asiatics would appear to them in every thing but the sound of their voices." He added large promises of the rewards which would crown their successful valour ; and when a Samian exile, who was in his confidence, suggested that there were some who questioned either his willingness or his ability to fulfil these magnificent promises, he reminded his hearers of the vast extent of the Persian empire, and of the immense possessions of his brother's adherents, which, if fortune favoured him, he should have to distribute among his friends : so that he had less reason to apprehend the want of means, than of objects for his munificence. To each of his Greek followers, beside a more solid recompense, he now promised a crown of gold. The language of Cyrus was soon reported throughout the Greek camp ; and some, whose rank did not entitle them to a place at the council of war, came to satisfy their curiosity, or to obtain some more explicit declaration. None left his presence without the fullest satisfaction that could be given by words.

Clearchus, on this occasion, had asked Cyrus, whether he thought that his brother would give him battle? The prince replied : " If he is the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall certainly not become master of all he possesses without a struggle." It was now the eleventh day since a Greek soothsayer, named Silanus, had predicted that there would be no engagement within ten days. Cyrus had observed, that, if so, he should not have to fight at all : and he promised ten talents to the soothsayer, if his prophecy should be fulfilled. But in the morning after the review he set forward in order of battle, expecting to meet the enemy in the course of the day. In this march he passed by the extremity of a deep and broad trench, which

Artaxerxes, when he ascertained that his brother was approaching, had formed either as a barrier to be disputed, or according to an Oriental custom, to protect his camp from surprise.¹ An interval of only about twenty feet was left between the one end and the Euphrates. But the royal army had retreated, and had left the trench and the passage unguarded. Cyrus, having passed through, and reached his halting-place, without seeing any thing but traces of the enemy's retreat, paid the sum he had promised to Silanus, and began to conclude that his brother had determined to decline a battle. This opinion, which prevailed generally throughout the camp, was greatly strengthened when he was allowed to continue his march without interruption to the next halting-place, and on the third day, believing that all fear or hope of a battle was past, he again mounted his travelling chariot, and pursued his way, preceded only by a small body of his troops in their ranks, while the rest followed in disorder, and many of the men had piled their arms on the waggons or the beasts of burden.

But the next day toward noon, when the army, which had probably begun its march before daybreak to avoid the heat, had nearly reached its halting-place for the night, near a village, named Cunaxa, between sixty and seventy miles from Babylon, a Persian officer, high in the confidence of Cyrus, was seen coming up at full speed, his horse covered with foam, calling out to all who met him — and he was able to address the Greeks as well as the barbarians in their own language — that the king's army was approaching in order of battle. The tidings created general consternation; for all feared that they should be attacked before they could recover themselves from the disorder of the march. Cyrus hastily alighted from his chariot, put on his armour,

¹ Such would seem to have been its object from a comparison of Cyrop. iii. 3. 26. But Xenophon seems here to indicate the other. His description of the trench cannot be reconciled with Diodorus, xiv. 22., who speaks of a rampart of waggons placed round the ditch within which Artaxerxes left his baggage, when he advanced to meet Cyrus.

and sprang upon his horse, and immediately gave his orders for forming the line of battle. The Greeks were drawn up nearest to the Euphrates, and according to the previous arrangement Clearchus commanded the right wing, which leaned upon the river, and was supported by the Paphlagonian cavalry and by the Greek light troops: Meno commanded the left wing. The barbarians were all commanded by Ariæus, as lieutenant of Cyrus, who himself, according to the Persian usage, occupied the centre with his 600 horse-guards, armed like them in all points, except that he wore the tiara instead of a helmet. Ample time was allowed for all these preparations, for it was toward the middle of the afternoon before a cloud of dust gave the first intimation of the enemy's presence. A dark mass next became visible, which soon began to send forth flashes of light, from the armour and weapons of the foremost ranks, and by degrees the divisions of the royal army might be clearly discerned.

Artaxerxes had divided the forces which he had hitherto collected into four corps, of 300,000 men each, which he had placed under the command of four generals, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. Abrocomas, as we have seen, had been sent down to the coast to check the progress of Cyrus, and so to allow the king more time for receiving the reinforcements which he still expected from the remoter provinces of the empire. But though he had retreated before the invader, and had recrossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, it seems that he had not yet rejoined the king. As to this fact Xenophon can scarcely have been mistaken; though he has left it wholly unexplained. The king was still according to this account at the head of 900,000 men¹; yet, if we may believe Plutarch, he continued to waver almost to the last between

¹ Ctesias however, according to Plutarch, Artax. 13., estimated the royal forces at no more than 400,000. His means of information on this subject were better than Xenophon's, and his statement was adopted by Ephorus (Diodor. xiv. 22.) On the other hand Xenophon speaks positively; he had read Ctesias, and was followed by Diodor in his Persian history.

the alternatives of fighting or retreating, and was only diverted from adopting the latter by the energetic remonstrances of Tiribazus. Whether however it was in his timid mood that he abandoned his position behind the trench, or with the purpose of surprising Cyrus, and in the hope that, if he gained the victory, the barrier which he suffered the enemy to pass would render his defeat the more fatal, is a question which we cannot decide. The forces of each of the nations which composed the royal army were formed into a solid square. Xenophon does not enumerate them, but only notices the Egyptians, who were distinguished by the length of their wooden shields, the troops which wore the gerron, which according to the description of Herodotus, must have been Persians, Medes, Cissians, or Hyrcanians, the bowmen, and the cavalry, of which the main body seems to have been stationed on the left under the command of Tissaphernes: but a select brigade of 6000 was posted in the centre to protect the king's person. Before the left wing, which was opposed to the Greeks, 150 of the scythe-armed chariots were placed at wide intervals from each other, designed to break and spread confusion in the adverse ranks.

The Greek generals had unanimously pressed Cyrus, at the last council of war, not to expose his person in battle; but he had indignantly refused to take his station in the rear, and, as the enemy approached, rode along the ranks at a considerable distance, surveying his own and the hostile array. The royal army was so superior in numbers, that his left wing did not reach to its centre. As he knew that his brother was there, and that it was here the main struggle would probably take place, he rode up with his interpreter, and three or four of his officers, to Clearchus, and ordered him to lead his troops against the enemy's centre: "there," he added, "is the king: if we conquer there, our work is done." Clearchus however preferred to proceed according to the rules of his art, and did not choose to expose himself to the risk of being surrounded by the barbarian

multitude, as he might have been if he had drawn his right wing away from the bank of the river. The orders of Cyrus he treated as a suggestion, which he might adopt or reject at his discretion; and merely answered, that he would take care all went right. Xenophon, while he does full justice to the motives of Clearchus, seems to intimate, though with great reserve, that in his own opinion he would have acted more wisely if he had obeyed Cyrus.¹ Plutarch's censure of his conduct is perhaps too severe: but, as to the main point, it appears to be fully justified by the event.

The Greeks had scarcely formed their line before the enemy was close at hand.² Just as Cyrus was on the point of returning to take his station in the centre, Xenophon rode up to him, and asked if he had any commands. The prince only bad him announce to his countrymen, that the aspect of the victims was propitious. As he was speaking he heard a murmur in the Greek ranks, and, on inquiring the cause, was informed that the word was passing for the second time. He was not aware that it had been given, and asked with surprise what it was. Xenophon answered, that it was Zeus the Deliverer, and Victory. "I accept the omen," said the prince; "so let it be;" and rode away.

The royal army advanced in good order, and not, as the Greeks had been led to expect, with loud warcries, but in perfect silence. But it was only as to this point that Cyrus proved to have been deceived. When the enemy had approached within about half a mile, the Greeks raised their pæan, and advanced toward them. As their line began to undulate, the

¹ Such is the impression made on my mind by the form of Xenophon's narrative, which seems to be designed to point out how the battle was lost, but at the same time to apologise for Clearchus. Plutarch, if he was able to speak for himself, might perhaps be prepared to retort the charge of *presumptuous ignorance*, which he has incurred for at least a highly probable opinion.

² This may appear scarcely consistent with what has been before said, about the time allowed for preparation; and Xenophon does not explain it.

part which was left behind set off running to keep up with the foremost, who continued to quicken their pace, and at the same time all joined in the Greek battle-shout. They had first to sustain the shock of the chariots ; but both the horses and the drivers were terrified by their clamour, which — according to a report mentioned by Xenophon, but not confirmed by his own authority — they heightened by clashing their spears against their shields. Some of the charioteers wheeled round, and fled toward their own ranks ; but those who continued their course, did no harm to the Greeks, who opened their files, to let them pass through and pressed forward to pursue the infantry, who did not wait to receive their charge. When they saw the barbarians put to flight, they exhorted one another to moderate their pace, and to keep their ranks in the pursuit. Xenophon was not sure that their victory cost them so much as a single life.

This was the only part of the engagement which he witnessed ; the contest was decided in another part of the field. Cyrus observed the success of the Greeks with exultation ; and his attendants, who saw so large a part of the hostile forces routed, already began to salute him as conqueror and king. But Artaxerxes still kept his ground with the main body, which had not been opposed to any enemy, and now began to wheel round, in order to take his brother's troops in the rear. Cyrus, whose attention was fixed upon his movements, immediately advanced, with his guard of cavalry, against the body of 6000 horse behind which he knew his rival was stationed. This he routed, and slew the commander Artagerses with his own hand. But his own cavalry was dispersed in the pursuit of the defeated enemy, and he was left, with a few of his principal officers and attendants, near the spot where his brother was stationed, surrounded by the more immediate guards of his person. Cyrus, as soon as he perceived him, exclaimed: "I see the man;" and urged his horse against him. The details of the combat

which ensued cannot be reported with any certainty. They were minutely described by Ctesias, who was present and near the king's person, as his physician, and might therefore seem entitled to be heard with the highest confidence. Yet his narrative differs so widely from Xenophon's, and is so improbable, that we feel ourselves forced to reject it. The only part of it which we can adopt, is the fact that Cyrus wounded and unhorsed his brother, who however was raised from the ground, and replaced on horseback by his attendants. But nearly at the same time Cyrus himself was wounded in the head with a javelin; whether by one of the royal guards, or by Artaxerxes himself, was not clearly ascertained.¹ Artaxerxes, according to Plutarch's authors, was always extremely anxious for the glory of having killed his brother, and was base and cruel enough to sacrifice two of his servants, one of whom was a young Persian named Mithridates, to his mother's revenge, because they claimed the honour of the blow which delivered him from his rival. Cyrus — by whatever hand — fell, and was finally overpowered and despatched, together with eight of his principal followers. One of them, named Artapatas, proved his fidelity to his master, according to one account, by killing himself upon his corpse, according to another, by clinging to it in an agony of grief until he was himself slain. According to the Persian custom of treating slain rebels, the head and right hand of Cyrus were cut off and brought to the king, who is said himself to have seized the head by the hair, and to

¹ Ctesias represented Cyrus as carried away by his horse, after he had wounded his brother, to a great distance from the scene of the combat, through the midst of the enemy, who would not have recognised him, as it was by this time dusk (though according to Xenophon it could not yet have been so late), if he had not discovered himself by his exulting shouts. It was now that Mithridates — without knowing who he was — seeing his tiara fall off, rode up and wounded him in the temple. Cyrus fell off his horse, almost stunned with the blow, but was taken up by some of his attendants, who were carrying him away, when they were recognised by some Caunians, followers of the royal camp, one of whom wounded him from behind. Yet even this blow might not have proved mortal; but it brought him to the ground, and he struck his wounded temple against a stone. So, observes Plutarch, Ctesias at length makes an end of him as with a blunt sword. Dinon's narrative nearly agreed with Xenophon's.

have held it up, as a proof of his victory to the view of the surrounding crowd. Thus ended the expedition of Cyrus. Xenophon pauses to describe the qualities and conduct by which he commanded love and respect, in a manner which shows how important the results of his success might have been to the welfare of Persia: we have now to relate the consequences through which his failure, perhaps still more deeply, affected the interests of Greece.

As soon as the death of Cyrus became known to his followers, Ariæus, and the whole of his barbarian troops, took to flight. Artaxerxes, with the forces which remained collected about him, pursued them as far as the camp, through which they passed, without stopping, on to their halting-place of the preceding night. The royal troops plundered the camp of all that fell in their way, but were arrested by a small body of Greeks, who had been left to guard the baggage, and maintained a successful combat against the barbarians. The king was here joined by Tissaphernes, who alone with his cavalry, of all the forces in the left wing of the royal army, had not been put to flight by the Greeks. He had charged their light troops, which opened a passage for him, and as he passed through, galled his flanks so severely, that he felt no disposition to turn upon them, but continued his way by the river side until he reached the camp. It was from him that the king, who had hitherto believed himself to be completely victorious, first learnt the partial success of the Greeks, nearly about the same time that the Greeks, who were between three and four miles off, received information that the enemy was not, as they had supposed, totally defeated, but in their camp, and threatening their baggage. Clearchus upon this intelligence deliberated with Proxenus, who happened to be nearest to him, whether it would be better to send a detachment, or to march with their whole force, to protect the camp. But their course was soon determined; for the king and Tissaphernes, who after their junction had set their forces in order,

were marching back to the field of battle, apparently with the design of attacking them. Instead however of advancing directly to meet them, the royal army, simply retracing its steps, threatened, as it came up, to take their left wing in the rear. To guard against this danger Clearchus was about to execute an evolution which would have placed the river behind him. But the enemy passed forwards and resumed the position which he had occupied at the beginning of the battle, and the Greeks raised their pæan, and rushed on with redoubled alacrity to the charge. The barbarians did not await it, but fled with greater precipitation than before, and were pursued by the Greeks as far as a village near the foot of a hill, on the summit of which their cavalry halted round the royal standard. The Greeks still advanced with the purpose of repeating their charge; but by the time they had reached the foot of the hill, the hostile cavalry had disappeared from the top, and they halted. Clearchus sent two of his officers to the top, to ascertain the enemy's movements, and learnt that they were flying at full speed. It was now near sunset, and the only question was, whether they should remain where they were, and should send for their baggage, or should return to their camp; for they were still ignorant of the fate of Cyrus, whom they supposed either to be engaged in pursuit of the enemy, or to have gone forward to occupy some position, or to accomplish some other object. They resolved to return to the camp, and arrived there at the hour of supper, which they greatly needed, as, when they began the battle they had not yet made their morning meal. But they found that the camp had been plundered of their whole stock of provisions, and were almost all forced to pass the night fasting.

The next morning they learnt the death of Cyrus from two messengers sent to them by Ariæus, who announced that he would wait for them until the next day, but should then set out on his return to Ionia.

Clearchus in the name of the other generals bad them carry word back to Ariæus, that the Greeks were victorious, and undisputed masters of the field, and that it had been their intention to march against the king : and they now offered to place Ariæus on the throne. The messengers were accompanied by Cheirisophus and Meno, who, having been a friend and guest of Ariæus, was desirous of being employed on this mission. In the meanwhile, to provide themselves with a meal, the Greeks were compelled to slaughter their beasts of burden, and to dress their food with the arrows, shields, and other relics of the battle, which they found at a short distance from the camp. Toward noon some Persian heralds came from the king, accompanied by Phalynus, a Zacynthian, who had gained credit with Tissaphernes by his pretensions to military skill. They were commissioned to summon the Greeks to lay down their arms, and throw themselves upon the king's mercy. Just as they had delivered their message, Clearchus happened to be called away to inspect a sacrifice : and having merely remarked, that it was not usual for conquerors to surrender their arms, he desired his colleagues to return such an answer to the proposal, as might appear to them most becoming. Cleanor, an Arcadian, who was the eldest among them, then declared that they would die sooner than give up their arms. Proxenus asked Phalynus, whether the king demanded them by right of conquest, or begged them as a boon. "If he claimed them by the title of the strongest, why not come and take them ; if as a favour, what had soldiers left, when they had parted with their arms ?" Phalynus replied, that the king, having killed Cyrus, considered himself as conqueror, and as master of the lives of the Greeks, who were shut up in the heart of his country, separated from their native land by vast tracts, and deep rivers, and would be tired out, even, if they had nothing to do but to slaughter the hosts which he could bring against them. A young Athenian, named Theopompus, then observed, that the

Greeks had nothing but their arms and their valour, and without their arms their valour would be useless: with them they should be able to contend with the barbarians for their good things. Phalynus answered with a sneer that their valour would be ill matched against the power of the king. — There were others however who took a deprecating tone, and said that as they had been faithful to Cyrus, so they might be useful to the king, if he wished to employ them either to reduce the revolted Egyptians, or in any other service.

Clearchus now returned from the inspection of the victims, and asked whether they had given their answer to the king's message. Phalynus said, that they had not agreed with one another, and requested Clearchus to deliver his sentiments. Clearchus then appealed to Phalynus himself, as a fellow-countryman, and conjured him to aid them with his advice; but to propose such a course as would be both safest and most honourable to them, and might reflect the greatest honour on himself, when it came to be known in Greece that it had been adopted on his suggestion. Clearchus hoped that, after such an appeal, Phalynus would have had the generosity to forget his character of envoy from the king, and would have been impelled by his patriotic feelings to confirm his distressed countrymen in the only resolution that was consistent with their honour and their safety. He was however disappointed. Phalynus declared — perhaps with sincerity — that he saw no hope for them but in submission to the king's pleasure. Clearchus then bade him return with this answer: that the Greeks thought, if they were to be the king's friends, they should be more serviceable to him with, than without, their arms: if his enemies, they should have the greater need of arms to defend themselves. Phalynus, before he departed, said that he had also been ordered to announce to them that, so long as they remained in their present position, the king would consider them as enjoying the benefit of an armistice,

but would treat a change of place as a declaration of hostilities. He therefore desired them to say which alternative they chose. Clearchus bad him inform the king, that they adopted his terms. Phalynus asked, which terms he meant. "If we stay, truce, if we go, war." And Phalynus could extract no other reply from him.

Soon after the envoy's departure, Procles and Cheirisophus returned with the answer of Ariæus: Meno staid behind with his friend. Ariæus declined the offer of the Greeks, on the ground that there were many Persians of superior dignity or merit, who would not bear to see him on the throne. He adhered to his purpose of retreating, and bad the Greeks join him, if they meant to do so, that night, as he should begin his march early in the morning. Clearchus again sent an ambiguous message: "If we come, let it be as you say: if not, do as you think fit." But toward sunset he assembled the superior officers, and informed them that the aspect of the victims which he had examined in the morning, was unpropitious to an expedition against the king; and, as he had since discovered, with good cause; for the royal army was now on the other side of the Tigris, which they could not pass without boats. But every sign seemed to favour the plan of a junction with Ariæus; and he therefore recommended that they should march that night. His brother officers adopted both his advice and the precautions which he proposed, and henceforth by tacit consent — the result of their conviction of his superior discernment and skill — they acknowledged him as their chief. In the evening after sunset they suffered a loss, which at this juncture was deeply felt. Miltocythes, a Thracian deserted to the king with forty horse — their whole cavalry — and 300 Thracian infantry. The rest arrived about midnight at the camp of Ariæus, and the Greek officers met in his tent. After the most solemn pledges of mutual good faith had been interchanged, Clearchus asked him, whether he intended to return by

the same, or a different road. He said, that to take the same was impossible ; for the desert through which they had marched for seventeen days, yielded no provisions, and they had none to carry with them ; they must therefore take a more circuitous route, on which they might find a supply : and it would be proper to make some forced marches at first, so as to leave the king two or three days' journey behind them, which would be sufficient to prevent him from ever overtaking them.

With this purpose, which, by whatever words it might be disguised, was, as Xenophon observes, really nothing else than flight, the army began its march the next morning at daybreak. It was a discouraging beginning of such an expedition as they were now undertaking ; for they were more than 2000 miles from Ephesus by the road along which they had come. That which they had now before them was certainly much longer, and traversed regions utterly unknown to them. And they were to enter upon it with an attempt to escape from a superior enemy. But as they crossed the plain of Babylon in a south-easterly direction, making for some villages where they expected to arrive about sunset, and to find a supply of provisions, they fell in with some of the beasts of burden belonging to the royal army, and hence concluded that it was not far off. Clearchus however did not think proper to seek the enemy, as the hour was late, and his men fatigued, and in want of food ; but he no less cautiously avoided the appearance of shunning an engagement, and pursuing his line of march without any deviation, halted for the night at the first villages he reached, which he found stripped of everything, even to the timber of the houses, by the king's troops. The two armies were so near each other that the voices of the Greeks, who, arriving successively at their halting-place, called out to one another in the dark, were heard by the enemy, and caused them to decamp in the night. At least the next morning every trace of their presence had disappeared. But the Greeks

too were disturbed by a nocturnal panic, which however was allayed by a stratagem of Clearchus, who ordered his herald — an Elean gifted with a singularly loud voice — to proclaim a reward for the discovery of the person *who had let the ass loose in the part of the camp where the arms were piled.*

The next day clear proof appeared of the effect which the approach of the Greeks had made on the king. For at daybreak other envoys came from him, not to demand their arms, but to conclude a truce. Clearchus, who was inspecting his men, kept the Persian ministers waiting, till he had drawn up his forces so as to present the most imposing aspect; and then came up to give them audience, accompanied by his colleagues, in the midst of a guard composed of the handsomest and best equipt soldiers in the army. After having heard the proposal of the envoys, he bad them tell their master, that the Greeks must fight before they treated; they had nothing to eat, and no one could venture to propose a truce to them, who did not provide them with a meal. With this answer they departed, but soon returned — thus clearly showing that the king was still near at hand — and said that the king consented to assign guides to the Greeks, who should lead them into plentiful quarters, as soon as they had concluded a truce with him. This proposal was joyfully received; but before he accepted it, Clearchus made the envoys wait, until they began to fear lest he should change his mind. At last he concluded the armistice, and ordered the guides to lead the army to the villages where it was to find provisions. In the way they had to cross several canals and trenches, too deep to be forded, and without bridges. Clearchus suspected that they had been recently filled with water by the king's orders — as it was not now the season for irrigating the plain — for the purpose of trying the courage and patience of the Greeks with a specimen of the obstacles which they were to encounter. But the palm trees, which grew near in abundance, supplied materials for bridges or rafts; and Clearchus roused the ex-

ertions of the men by his exhortations and example. With his spear in one hand, and his staff in the other, he urged the labourers whose tasks seemed to linger, and taking part in the work with his own hands, excited the emulation of persons of greater age and dignity to contribute their personal aid. The impediment was thus surmounted in a manner which tended to heighten the respect of the barbarians. The villages to which they were led were found well stocked with provisions, especially corn, dates, and palm wine.

Here they remained three days, in the course of which they received a visit from Tissaphernes, who was accompanied by the queen's brother and three other Persians, attended by a numerous train. Tissaphernes came to assure them of the friendship which, as a neighbour of Greece in the place of his ordinary residence, he felt for them, and the sympathy with which he had viewed their embarrassing situation. Relying on their gratitude, and on that of their whole nation, he had been exerting all the influence which he had acquired at court by his recent eminent services, to prevail on the king to let him conduct them home in safety. The king had promised to take his request into consideration, and in the meanwhile had sent him to inquire what was the motive which had engaged them in their expedition against him. To this question he advised them to send a discreet answer, such as might forward his intercession in their behalf. After a private consultation with the other generals, Clearchus in their name replied that they had not set out with any hostile intentions against the king, but had been drawn into the service of Cyrus under various pretences, and had been induced to accompany him, without knowing his real object until they saw him in a situation, in which, after the obligations he had laid upon them, it would have been base to abandon him. Now that he was dead, they had no wish either to attack the king's throne or person, or to do any damage to his territories: if they were not molested, they would return quietly home, but they would defend themselves as well

as they could from aggression. On the other hand they would endeavour not to be outdone in generosity by any one who should render them a voluntary service. Tissaphernes went away with this answer, and returning on the third day after, informed the anxious Greeks, that he had with great difficulty obtained his petition from the king, against the opinion of many persons in the council, who had contended that it was degrading to the king's majesty, to suffer men who had endeavoured to dethrone him to escape with impunity. The terms now offered to them were, that they should have a safe conduct to their own country, and a market on the road ; and that wherever none was furnished for them they should be allowed to take such necessaries as they could find ; that on their part they should engage to do no mischief in the king's territories beyond the taking of provisions where they found none offered for sale, and that they should pay for all that they procured from the market. These terms were accepted by the Greeks ; and the treaty was ratified in the most solemn manner, by Tissaphernes and the king's brother-in-law on the one side, and by all the principal Greek officers on the other. Tissaphernes then departed, promising, as soon as he should have finished his preparations for his journey to his satrapy, to return and escort them to Greece.

He kept them waiting for him twenty days ; and during this interval offers of pardon and amnesty were made to Ariæus and his principal officers, which produced a visible change in his deportment toward the Greeks. Many of them began to entertain suspicions, which they communicated to Clearchus and the other generals, urging them to wait no longer. The king, they said, was no doubt anxious to destroy them for the sake of deterring all other Greeks from similar undertakings. He was probably only inducing them to wait, that he might have time to collect his scattered forces, and fall upon them. In the meanwhile perhaps he was throwing up intrenchments to bar their retreat, which, if safely

effected, would, as he could not but feel, expose him to universal contempt.

Clearchus however checked the impetuosity of the men. He bad them reflect that the first movement which they made from their present quarters, before the return of Tissaphernes, would be construed as a breach of the treaty, and a signal for war. They would then be without provisions, guides, or friends; for Ariæus would immediately separate himself from them, and openly declare himself their enemy. They would have to cross the Euphrates at least, if not other great rivers, in the presence of a hostile army, which could easily bar their passage. And as they had no horse, while the enemy's strength lay in cavalry, victory would be of little avail to them, defeat utterly ruinous. With such advantages it seemed to him incredible, that the king, if he was bent on destroying them, should resort to an act of treacherous perjury, which would forever ruin his credit among the Greeks, when he might as easily effect his purpose by honourable warfare.

Tissaphernes at length arrived, accompanied by Orontes, the king's son-in-law, each with a body of troops under his command, and immediately began the march. The Greeks found a market regularly provided for them, but they observed that Ariæus kept close to the two other Persian chiefs, and encamped his forces along with theirs. This excited suspicions which they took no pains to conceal; they marched apart from the barbarians, and encamped at the distance of several miles from them. This exhibition of their distrust roused hostile feelings in those who were its objects, and perhaps were not conscious of having deserved it. The mutual animosity thus excited sometimes found vent in threats and blows, when the foraging parties of the two armies fell in with one another; and every such meeting added to its strength. The road by which they were led by Tissaphernes, still following a southerly direction, brought them first within a great rampart,

called the Wall of Media¹, built of baked bricks-cemented with asphaltus, which, as they heard, stretched across the plain for about eighty miles, and was 100 feet high, and twenty broad. They then, by bridges or boats, crossed two canals issuing from the Tigris, and at the end of the fifth day's march arrived at a large and populous city, called Sitace, less than two miles from the river, which was here crossed by a bridge. The barbarians passed over to the other side, and moved out of sight; the Greeks encamped in the outskirts of the town, and near the edge of a spacious and thickly wooded park. Here Xenophon was walking in the evening, with his friend Proxenus, when a man came up to the outposts, and inquired for Proxenus or Clearchus, for whom he brought a message from Ariæus. It was remarked that he did not ask for Meno, the guest and friend of Ariæus, though it seems he was in the camp. But being admitted to an interview with Proxenus, he said that he was sent by Ariæus to warn the Greeks, that they were in danger of being attacked in the night by the barbarians, who had a large body of forces posted in the park, and that it was also the design of Tissaphernes to break down the bridge over the Tigris, so that they might be inclosed by the river and its canals. This information was immediately communicated to Clearchus, who was at first extremely alarmed by it. But one of the officers present had the sagacity to perceive that it could be nothing but a stratagem. The two designs, he observed, attributed to the enemy were not consistent with each other. If Tissaphernes meant to attack them, he would not destroy the bridge, which would be useful to him should he be defeated, and could be of no service to them if he was victorious. This remark opened the eyes of Clearchus to the enemy's real object. He questioned the envoy of Ariæus as to the nature of the region where the Greeks

¹ Probably, as Schneider conjectures on iii. 4. 11., a woman. It may have been originally one of the numerous monuments ascribed to Semiramis, mentioned by Strabo, xvi. p. 737 *τα τε χρώματα αὐτῆς καλεῖται Σιμιράμιδος, καὶ τῆς γ.*

were encamped, and learnt that it was an island formed by the Tigris and its canals, highly fertile, and containing many villages and several flourishing towns. It became evident that Tissaphernes was apprehensive lest the Greeks, attracted by the advantages which it offered, should choose to remain and settle there, and had therefore endeavoured to scare them away from it, by a stratagem like that by which Themistocles was said to have hurried Xerxes away from Greece. It was nevertheless deemed advisable to secure the bridge, which they crossed the next morning with great caution, as a report was spread that Tissaphernes meant to attack them during the passage. But this report proved as groundless as the message of Ariæus. No enemy appeared during the whole time, except Glous, one of the officers of Cyrus, with a few attendants who were evidently watching their movements, and rode away as soon as he saw them beginning to go over. They then proceeded along the left bank of the Tigris. At Opis, a large town on the Phycus, one of the tributaries of the Tigris, they met a half brother of Artaxerxes, who was on his way from Susa and Ecbatana, with a numerous army, which he had brought to the aid of the king. He halted to view the passage of the Greeks, which Clearchus ordered so as to produce the greatest effect on the barbarian spectators, making them defile in a column, two abreast, and lengthening the time of the march by frequent stoppages. Some Median villages belonging to Parysatis were abandoned to the Greeks by Tissaphernes to be plundered, Xenophon says, by way of insult to the memory of Cyrus. But as the affront and the injury were offered immediately to the queen-mother, whose formidable resentment Tissaphernes could scarcely have wished wantonly to provoke, we might rather be inclined to suspect that his real object was to point it against the Greeks.

On the banks of the Zapatas (the greater Zab) they halted for three days. They had now been marching nineteen days in company with Tissaphernes, and no

material ground of complaint had occurred between them. Nevertheless the suspicions of the Greeks had not subsided, and Clearchus, who placed greater confidence in the satrap's intentions, resolved to try whether more friendly feelings might not be produced by mutual explanations. He therefore sent to request an interview with Tissaphernes; it was readily granted. He came, he said, convinced that there was no foundation for the suspicions which some of the Greeks entertained of Tissaphernes; and as he knew that those which Tissaphernes expressed, rather indeed by his actions than his words, of the Greeks were utterly groundless, he wished to remove them by a clear exposure of their unreasonableness. Even if his countrymen were regardless of the divine wrath, which they would incur by such a breach of faith as Tissaphernes seemed to apprehend, a sense of their own interest would be sufficient to restrain them from it. For to whom but Tissaphernes had they to look for the supply of their daily wants, and for the means of surmounting the various obstacles which they had to encounter. If they should succeed in any hostile design against them, what would they have done but deprive themselves of their most valuable friend, of the man who sheltered them from the king's enmity. For his own part, all his hopes of fortune depended on the favour of Tissaphernes, who was able to gratify all the desires by which he had been drawn into the service of Cyrus. But there were equally strong reasons, which he believed must make Tissaphernes unwilling to forfeit the good-will of the Greek army. It would be able, if it returned safe, to rid him of the troublesome neighbours, such as the Mysians and Pisidians, who infested his province; or it might enable him to quell the revolted Egyptians: one of the most acceptable services which he could render to his master. With this force at his command, which, if it should owe its safe return to his protection, would serve him not as mere mercenaries but with all the zeal of gratitude, he might make himself feared by all his neighbours. Clearchus thought

it so astonishing that, with such motives for confidence, he should distrust the Greeks, that there was nothing he more desired to know than the name of the person who had instilled such strange suspicions into his mind.

Tissaphernes in reply expressed the pleasure which he felt at seeing that Clearchus took so just a view of his own interests ; and begged him to reflect on the absurdity of the suspicions conceived by the Greeks, whether with regard to the king or to himself. If it was the king's wish to destroy them, could they suppose that he was at a loss for means — with so many troops for every kind of warfare at his command — or for opportunities, during a march in which they had so many plains to traverse, so many mountain passes to penetrate, so many rivers to cross, some of which they would be unable to pass, not only against his will, but without his help. But if they considered themselves safe from all open attacks, even under such disadvantages, would not fire still do its office ? Would it not be easy for the king to lay waste the whole country round them, and, without risking a man, to let famine fight his battle. Was it credible that, with such resources at his disposal, he should prefer a course which would be impious in the sight of the gods, infamous in the eyes of men ? one to which none but the vilest of mankind could be reduced by the hardest necessity ? Perhaps however they might say : if the king has us in his power, why has he not already destroyed us ? It was to the influence of Tissaphernes they owed their safety, to his desire of establishing a claim upon their gratitude, and thus of securing the advantages which Clearchus himself had pointed out, together with one which he had not mentioned, but which any one might enjoy with such a body of auxiliaries — a spirit as erect as the king's tiara.

These arguments convinced Clearchus ; for they were not only in themselves extremely specious, but, as we have seen, and as the wily Persian perhaps knew, they

were his own. He declared himself perfectly satisfied, and only anxious for the punishment of the persons whose calumnious insinuations had disturbed the harmony of parties so closely united by their common interest. Tissaphernes declared himself willing to gratify this wish, and promised, if he would bring all his principal officers before him, to point out those who had endeavoured to excite his suspicions. Clearchus assented to this proposal, and engaged at the same time to make the like disclosure as to the source of his own. Tissaphernes now detained him to supper, and loaded him with marks of kindness and respect ; so that he returned to the camp the next morning with the most agreeable impressions of the satrap's disposition toward him, and called upon all his officers to accompany him to the proposed interview, that the authors of the calumnies which had done so much mischief, might be detected, and punished, as traitors to the army.

There were even among the common soldiers some who saw the danger of such a step, and who, as soon as the intentions of Clearchus became known, expostulated with him on the imprudence of committing all their officers to the power of a man whom they had hitherto been treating as a covert enemy. He would probably not have been blind to that which they discerned so clearly, if his judgment had not been perverted by two selfish motives : resentment and ambition. He had persuaded himself that Meno, whom he believed to be his enemy and his rival, was the person who had traduced him to Ariæus and Tissaphernes, for the purpose of supplanting him. He hoped to witness the shame and punishment of his adversary, and to establish himself in the undivided command of the army ; and therefore disregarded all the remonstrances of his disinterested counsellors. But he could not prevail on more than four of the generals, and twenty of the inferior officers to attend him. The generals were Proxenus, Meno, Agias an Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan. When they came to the head-quarters of Tissaphernes, the five

generals were admitted within, and the subalterns remained at the door: they were followed by about 200 of the private soldiers, who came either for the sake of the market, or attracted by curiosity. Ere long a signal was given, upon which the generals were arrested, and a massacre was begun among their countrymen who accompanied them. At the same time a squadron of barbarian cavalry was seen scouring the plain, and cutting down every Greek who fell in their way. The Greeks, who beheld this movement from their camp, were for some time at a loss to account for it. But it was soon explained to them by the appearance of Nicarchus, an Arcadian, who came up severely wounded, and related all that had happened.

The Greeks ran to their arms in consternation, apprehending that the enemy would immediately fall upon them. None however appeared but Ariæus and two other generals who had been in the service of Cyrus, and, as the Greeks were informed by their interpreter, a brother of Tissaphernes, with about 300 Persian cuirassiers. The chiefs, having drawn near, desired that some Greek officer should come forward and listen to the message which they had brought from the king. Upon this two of the remaining generals, Cleanor and Sophænetus, advanced duly guarded, accompanied by Xenophon, who was anxious to learn some tidings of his friend Proxenus. When they were within hearing, Ariæus informed them that Clearchus, having been convicted of perjury and breach of treaty, had been punished with death; but that Proxenus and Meno, who had revealed his treachery, were in high honour. The king now required the rest of the army to surrender their arms, which, as they had before belonged to his subject Cyrus, he now claimed as his own. Cleanor, answering in the name of his colleagues, addressed Ariæus and the other friends of Cyrus with the bitterest reproaches. Ariæus attempted to vindicate himself by repeating the charge against Clearchus. Xenophon then observed that if Clearchus was guilty of the offences imputed to him, he had no doubt suffered

justly. But since Proxenus and Meno had conferred an obligation on the Persians, it was reasonable that they should be restored to their troops: for, as they had shown themselves the friends of both parties, both might expect benefit from their counsels. The Persians, after a long conference among themselves, departed without returning any answer.

Xenophon adds but very few particulars as to the fate of Clearchus and his fellow prisoners. The anecdotes related by Plutarch from Ctesias and other writers are of doubtful credit. But it seems certain that neither Clearchus nor any of his companions were immediately put to death, but were carried to court, and that they were kept for some time in custody. During this interval Parysatis, who regarded them with good-will as friends of her best beloved son, is said to have exerted all her influence to save their lives. But her efforts were counteracted by her rival Statira, the favourite queen of Artaxerxes, whose suit, as it happened to be more in accordance with his own inclination, was on this occasion preferred; and all the generals, except Meno, lost their heads. Xenophon, who describes Meno's character in a strain of satirical invective, mentions the exception made in his favour, apparently to confirm a suspicion which he elsewhere insinuates that Meno was privy to the treachery of Tissaphernes. Ctesias distinctly charged him with this baseness; and we may easily believe, if he was such a man as Xenophon represents, that he was quite capable of it. It is not so clear in what way he could have promoted the success of the stratagem¹; and there is no reason for supposing that he suggested it: the credit of the invention is unquestionably due to Tissaphernes alone. Meno however was spared — whatever may have been the motive — only to be reserved for a death of lingering torture, such as we scarcely hear of anywhere but in the court chronicles of ancient

¹ Ctesias, though he confirms Xenophon's suspicions of Meno, was so ill informed about the particulars, as to relate, that through Meno's arts Clearchus was compelled by the army, though he himself distrusted Tissaphernes, to put himself in his power.

Persia: for it lasted a whole year.¹ This refinement of cruelty seems to indicate the intervention of Parysatis; and it is not improbable that she obtained permission to wreak her vengeance upon him, as a compensation for the disappointment she had suffered in her contest with Statira.²

¹ Xenophon's expression, αἰσθητὴς ἐνιαυτὸν means something more than *kept in wretched confinement a full year*

² Yet the silence of Ctesias — for it seems clear from the extract of Photius, c. 60., compared with Plut. Artax. 18., that he only related that Meno was not put to death with the other generals — throws considerable doubt on the fact.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE RETURN OF THE GREEKS.

THE despondency with which the Greeks viewed the situation in which they were left by the loss of their generals, can only be estimated, if we consider not only its real dangers, but the reluctance with which they had been induced to follow Cyrus on to the goal of his enterprise, and the opinion which Clearchus himself had expressed, on the desperate difficulty of making good their retreat against the will of the enemy, who had just given such a proof of his implacable hostility, as utterly precluded all further attempts at negotiation, and all possibility of compromise. On the other hand the whole amount of the loss which had been actually sustained through the perfidy of Tissaphernes might be looked upon as confined to the person of Clearchus. Yet this loss might well seem irreparable. For he was the only man who had hitherto displayed the abilities and acquirements requisite for the station which he had filled among his colleagues, whose deference was a tacit acknowledgment of their own incapacity. Even he had despaired of conducting them home in defiance of the Persian power. They were now in the case which he had described, left, at the distance of at least 1200 miles from Greece, without provisions, without guides, without a single horseman, to find and fight their way through an enemy's country, across unfordable rivers, with a hostile army watching their movements, and ready to seize every opportunity of falling upon them with advantage: and beside all this, they were without a chief. The night which followed this change in their prospects was, as may easily be imagined, with most

of them, a sleepless one. Few could find heart to taste food, or light a fire ; and many, instead of coming to the ordinary resting place near their arms, threw themselves on the ground, 'wherever else they chanced to be, not to sleep, but to call up the images of their homes, parents, wives, and children, whom they no longer expected ever to see again.

Hope however was not universally stifled, and the emergency called forth a man—such as among 10,000 Greeks could scarcely ever have been wanting—endowed with all the qualities needed for meeting it. Xenophon, the Athenian, whose name has already occurred more than once in our narrative, had accompanied the expedition, as a private adventurer, without any military rank. He had spent a great part of his youth at Athens, in familiar and habitual intercourse with Socrates, who, struck, it is said, by his promising physiognomy, had drawn him, by a gentle constraint, into his society. It was probably at Athens also that he had formed his intimacy with Proxenus, who is said to have been a disciple of Gorgias, and may have been drawn to Athens by pursuits congenial to those of his Athenian friend. Proxenus, after he had entered the service of Cyrus, wrote from the court of Sardis to Xenophon, offering to introduce him to the prince, whose favour he said he himself valued above any thing that his country had to offer. Such an invitation would have had powerful attractions for a man of adventurous spirit, even if he was strongly attached to his native city. To Xenophon perhaps the most tempting part of the prospect was a long absence from Athens, or a permanent settlement in a foreign land. He seems—though it may be unconsciously—to have determined on accepting the proposal of Proxenus, when he communicated it to Socrates, as if for his advice. Socrates was immediately struck with the effect which such a step was likely to produce on the minds of the Athenians, who could not, without some feelings of jealousy, see one of their citizens seeking his fortune in the patronage of the man who had shown

himself their implacable enemy, and had been the chief author of their late calamities and degradation. It seems however that he did not otherwise attempt to dissuade his young friend from following the bent of his inclination than by pointing to these consequences, and by advising that before he decided, he should consult the Delphic oracle, which by its authority might either put an end to the project, or give a better colour to the proceedings. Xenophon however, instead of submitting his plan to the decision of the oracle, only inquired about the religious ceremonies by which the adventure which he meditated might be brought to a happy issue. On his return to Athens Socrates gently censured his disciple for having shown more concern about the success of the enterprise than about its expediency or fitness ; but opposed no further hindrance to it ; and Xenophon, having observed the rites which the oracle had prescribed, embarked for Asia, and found Proxenus at Sardis, with the troops which he had collected for the pretended expedition against the Pisidians, and on the point of setting out. Proxenus introduced him to Cyrus, and both pressed him to accompany them on their march ; the prince assuring him that he should be at liberty to depart as soon as the expedition was ended. We must believe that he was deceived by the professions of Cyrus, since he asserts it himself. He does not inform us when the truth, which had from the beginning been evident to Tissaphernes, first dawned upon his mind. On the arrival of the army in Cilicia, when no further doubt could remain as to the prince's intentions, he was according to his own account one of those whom a sense of honour induced reluctantly to proceed. The expedition was perhaps in no respect more useful to him than in the opportunity it afforded him of studying the character of Cyrus—one of that class which he especially admired ;—and the time had now come for applying the lessons with which his observations had furnished him.

He had spent a part of the night in gloomy reflections, such as occupied the minds of most of his comrades, and

having at length dropt into a short slumber, saw a dream such as might naturally occur to a Greek who, like Xenophon, was deeply conversant with the interpretation of omens. According to the rules of divination as he himself expounds them, it was of an ambiguous aspect, and he seems to think that on this very account the impression which it left upon his mind, when he awoke, proved that it was immediately sent by the god, from whom, according to the Homeric theology, all dreams proceeded.¹ When the consciousness of his condition returned, he began to reflect, that it was one which demanded instant and strenuous exertion. His first thought was: Why do I keep lying here, while the night is wearing away, when the enemy may be expected to fall upon us at daybreak? We are threatened with the most cruel and ignominious death that the revenge of a timid adversary can inflict; and yet no one is making any preparations for resistance. If I wait for another more experienced general to step forward, the season for action will have past by.

His resolution was immediately formed: he rose, and called together the officers of Proxenus, and addressed them. After having pointed out the magnitude of the evils which they had to apprehend, unless some provision were made without delay for their defence, he dexterously turned their attention to another more animating view of their situation. Ever since they had concluded the treaty with Tissaphernes, he had observed with envy and regret the rich possessions of the barbarians, and had lamented that his comrades had subjected themselves to the obligation of abstaining from the good things which they constantly saw within their reach, except so far as they were able to purchase a taste of them at an expense which he had feared would soon exhaust their scanty means. This abstinence they had religiously observed; but the perfidy of their enemies had now released them from the restraint which they had imposed on themselves; and the treasures which they had coveted, but

¹ Καὶ γὰρ τ' ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς ἔστι.

had scrupulously forborne to touch, would henceforth be the fair prizes of their valour. The gods, whom their enemies had provoked by their perjury, would be the arbiters of the contest, for which beside they were better prepared, both in the training of their bodies and the temper of their spirits, than their antagonists.—Perhaps while he spoke these thoughts had occurred to some of their comrades. He therefore exhorted them not to wait until they were called upon by others, but to take the lead, and aspire to a glorious pre-eminence among their fellows. For himself, he was ready to follow any leader whom they might appoint ; but he would not plead his age as an excuse for shrinking from the foremost post¹, if they chose to place him there.

His hearers, with one exception, unanimously requested him to put himself at their head. The only dissentient voice was that of one Apollonides, whose accent seemed to betoken a Bœotian origin. He said that it was idle to talk of saving themselves, otherwise than by the king's good pleasure. And he was proceeding to expatiate on the difficulties of their position, when he was interrupted by Xenophon, who indignantly reminded him, that, when they openly defied the king, he had sued for a truce, but those of their number who placed themselves at his mercy had been pitilessly massacred. A man who could learn nothing from such experience, ought no longer to be admitted among them ; and he advised that they should depose him, as a disgrace to Greece, from his command, and use him as a beast of burden. It was now made known, by one who had noticed that the ears of Apollonides had been pierced after the Lydian fashion, that he was no more a Greek by birth than in soul : and he was ignominiously expelled. The rest proceeded in a body to assemble all the officers of their own or of higher rank in the army : it was near midnight when they were brought together : their number amounted to about a hundred. The

¹ Οὐ προσέσθισμαι τὴν ἡλικίαν. On Xenophon's age at the time of the expedition the reader may consult a paper in the Philological Museum, i. p. 507. foll.

eldest officer of the division of Proxenus, having briefly stated the object of the meeting, called upon Xenophon to repeat what he had said. Xenophon reminded the assembly, that the safety of the whole army entirely depended on the conduct which they might pursue in this eventful crisis.¹ The eyes of the common soldiers were fixed on them; the influence of their example would be felt throughout the ranks, to infuse either despondency or courage into every bosom. Their superior station, as it conferred peculiar advantages, imposed more arduous duties, and obliged them to watch and labour in behalf of those who were placed under them. Their first care should be to fill up the vacancies which had been made by the massacre. It would then be expedient to assemble their men, and to endeavour to raise their drooping spirits. For this purpose it would be proper to divert their minds from gloomy forebodings to thoughts of action. It was not on numbers, or brute strength, but on the manly spirit of the combatants that victory depended: and he had observed, that in war those who were most chary of their lives seldom survived those who were willing to meet an honourable death. Cheirisophus seconded this proposal, and they immediately proceeded to the election. Timasion, a native of Dardanus, was chosen in the room of Clearchus, Socrates was succeeded by Xanthicles, an Achæan, Cleanor by Agias, Meno by Philesius, an Achæan. Xenophon himself was elected to supply the place of his friend Proxenus.

The election was scarcely over, before day began to dawn; and after the sentinels had been relieved, the men were called to a general assembly. They were first addressed by Cheirisophus, who only spoke of the loss they had suffered in the death of their officers and comrades; of the friendless condition in which they were left by the desertion of Arisæus; of the doom which awaited them if they should fall into the power of their enemies;

¹ Μίστρον ἔχρει καὶ μέγας. Schneider's opinion, that these words refer to the *ἱππασίαι* mentioned Cyrop. iii. 3. 12., seems to the last degree improbable.

and hence took occasion to exhort them to make up their minds for victory or a glorious death. He was followed in a similar strain by Cleanor, who dwelt upon the perfidy of the king and Tissaphernes, and the baseness of Ariæus, as motives which should induce them to place no trust in the faith of the barbarians, but to meet their fate, whatever it might be, with swords in their hands.

Xenophon rose next. He had equipped himself as gallantly as possible for the occasion, thinking, he says, that, whether he was destined to victory or to death, it became him to meet either event in his fairest array ; and no doubt designing to impress the spectators with the same sentiment. His language also breathed hope and confidence. Taking up the topic on which Cleanor had insisted, he observed that they would indeed have cause for despondency, if they thought of entering into any fresh treaties with the barbarians ; but if it was their purpose to avenge their murdered friends, and to wage interminable war with the assassins, they had every reason to hope for the happiest issue. His harangue was interrupted at this point by an omen, which a modern historian can scarcely mention with gravity, but which, ever since the time of Homer, had been regarded by all religious Greeks as an intimation of the divine blessing. One of the soldiers chanced to sneeze : his comrades with one accord adored the god, who had sent the propitious sound ; and the speaker dexterously availed himself of the interruption. He proposed that, since in the midst of their consultations on the means of their deliverance, they had been cheered with such an augury — which could only proceed from Zeus, the deliverer — they should join in a vow of a thanksgiving sacrifice to this god, to be offered as soon as they should arrive on a friendly soil. The vow was solemnly made ; a pæan was sung by the whole assembly, and the orator proceeded.

“ The hopes of which he had spoken rested mainly on their assurance of the divine favour, which the enemy

had forfeited by his impious treachery: next on the trophies which their forefathers had raised over the countless hosts of their barbarian invaders, and of which they had already shown themselves worthy, when they encountered and defeated the multitudes which Artaxerxes arrayed against them at Cunaxa. They were then fighting for Cyrus: they would now reap the fruits of victory for themselves. They then met an untried foe; they had now experience to add confidence to their courage. They had indeed been deserted by Ariæus and his troops; but it was better for them that men capable of such baseness should be found in the enemy's ranks than by their side. It was true, they were deficient in cavalry: but all that this amounted to was that the enemy was better provided with the means of flight. Hereafter Tissaphernes would no longer be their guide, nor would the king furnish them with a market. But let them consider whether they should not be safer with guides such as they might easily find, who would be answerable to them for their fidelity with their lives, than with one who was continually meditating their destruction; and whether they were not likely to obtain more abundant supplies when they took what they could seize, than when they were obliged to content themselves with what they were able to pay for. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the difficulties of their position were increased, because they had been induced to cross the Tigris, and had thus placed it between them and Greece. As they advanced toward its head, they would find it dwindle to a brook, which they might ford without wetting their knees. But even if they should be hemmed in by impassable rivers, and be left without a guide, there would still be no cause for despondency. They knew how many independent nations, like the Mysians, the Pisidians, and the Lycaonians, whose country they had themselves traversed, maintained themselves within the king's dominions, in defiance of his authority, and in the possession of many fair cities. If any of those tribes — as

the Mysians with whom a Greek would not think it honourable to be compared¹ — were willing to quit the king's territory, he would no doubt gladly furnish them with guides, pave a highway for their retreat, and give them hostages for their safety. And he would assuredly be overjoyed to do as much for the Greeks, if, instead of betraying their anxiety to return home, they intimated an inclination to stay and settle in his empire. Xenophon's only fear was, lest, if they should begin to make the trial, the sweets of ease and plenty, and the charms of the Median and Persian women, like the taste of the lotus, might make them forget their native land. He wished them to return, and make known to their countrymen, that all of them who were struggling with poverty at home might here find ample room and abundant means of subsistence. But first of all they must take such precautions, as would enable them either to march in safety, or to fight with advantage. For this purpose he advised that they should burn their waggons and tents, and should get rid of all that was superfluous in their baggage. But above all he exhorted them to observe the most exact subordination, and to aid their officers to enforce obedience; that the enemy, who had hoped by depriving them of their generals to introduce disorder into their camp, might find that in the room of the one Clearchus whom they had lost, there were ten thousand always on the watch to repress any breach of discipline." This motion was carried, as was Xenophon's next proposal, for regulating the order of the march. He suggested that they should move in four divisions, so as to inclose the baggage in a hollow square. The honour of leading the van he proposed to confer on Cheirisophus, as a Spartan: the command of the two flank divisions on the two eldest generals; the rear, as the post of danger, he claimed for Timasion and himself, as the youngest.

The assembly was then dismissed; and the men

¹ The proverbs, *Μυσῶν ἰσχυατος*, *Μυσῶν λεία*, show in what light the Mysians were viewed by the Greeks.

immediately proceeded to burn the waggons and the tents, and — after they had supplied one another's wants — their superfluous baggage. Before they resumed their march, a Persian named Mithridates, whom they had known as an adherent of Cyrus, rode up with about thirty horse, and having obtained an audience of the generals, represented himself as threatened with great dangers on account of his attachment to Cyrus, and as willing to join them with all his followers, if he found that the course they designed to pursue was one that held out a prospect of safety for him; and he therefore desired them to disclose their plans to him as a friend. After a consultation, Cheirisophus was instructed to reply, that if they were not molested, they meant to pass through the country with as little damage to it as possible; but if any one should attempt to impede their progress, he would find them prepared for a contest. Mithridates then endeavoured to convince them, that resistance was hopeless, and thus discovered himself to be an emissary of Tissaphernes, who for greater security had sent one of his confidential servants along with him. Warned by this occurrence, the generals passed a resolution, that so long as they remained in the enemy's territory they would receive no overtures from him. It was time to break off all intercourse with so insidious a foe: for some of the men had already been seduced by his artifices to desert; and among the rest, Nicarchus, an Arcadian officer¹, went off in the night with twenty soldiers. The army then set out, and crossed the Zabatus without interruption.

The retreat which began from this point was the most memorable and brilliant period in Xenophon's life, and the narrative of it, which he drew up after his return, deserves perhaps to be considered as his greatest literary work. The ability which he displayed in his command is the more remarkable, if, as we have reason to believe, it was the first he had ever held, and before

¹ He must have been a different person from the Arcadian of the same name, and probably of the same rank, who was wounded the day before. His wounds, according to Xenophon's description, must have been mortal.

this expedition he had had few opportunities of acquiring any military experience. But the qualities which this occasion drew forth were less those of the soldier and the general, than such as had been cultivated by his intercourse with Socrates. The kind of practical philosophy which he had extracted from his master's discourses, was now called into constant exercise, and appears in its most advantageous light. To his presence of mind, his courage, patience, firmness, mildness and evenness of temper, the army was mainly indebted for its safety. In the hour of danger, and the place of difficulty, he was always foremost, ready to share the hardships and toils of the soldiers, and to cheer them by the example of his never-failing alacrity. But it is in his own history of the expedition that the proof and illustration of these remarks must be sought. Our object and limits only permit us to follow the outline of his narrative, and to notice a few passages which appear most important according to the view we have hitherto taken of the subject.

They had not advanced far beyond the river when Mithridates again appeared, with about 200 cavalry and 400 bowmen and slingers, and, as soon as he had approached sufficiently near, began to assail them with a shower of missiles. The Greeks now felt not only their want of cavalry, but the deficiency of their light troops, whose arrows and javelins fell short of the enemy while they were themselves within his reach. Xenophon was at length induced to charge the assailants with the heavy infantry and the targeteers which he commanded. But he was not able to overtake them, and his troops were both galled by the arrows which the mounted bowmen scattered behind them as they fled, and were still more hotly pressed in their retreat toward the main body. After fighting the whole day the army had advanced little more than three miles, and reached its halting-place tired and dispirited. Xenophon was censured by Cheirisephus and the elder generals for his imprudence in making a hazardous and unavailing charge;

and he did not so much endeavour to vindicate his own conduct, as to urge the necessity, which had been so clearly manifested by the events of the day, of immediately forming a body of cavalry and slingers capable of repelling the enemy's assaults. There were a few horses in the camp, some belonging to himself, some which had been left of the squadron of Clearchus, and several which had been taken, and were used for carrying the baggage. He had also learnt that there were some Rhodians in the army, who were for the most part very expert slingers, understood the use of leaden bullets, and could send their missiles twice as far as the Persians. Before morning a troop of about fifty horse was raised and equipt with cavalry armour, and 200 Rhodians had been induced to offer their services as slingers. And when Mithridates again appeared with a larger force — 1000 cavalry and 4000 bowmen and slingers — which he had obtained from Tissaphernes on a promise that he would deliver the Greeks into his hands, he was repulsed with considerable loss. The Greeks, knowing the character of the enemy whom they had to deal with, to heighten the dread of their valour by a false show of cruelty, mutilated the slain. During the rest of the day they pursued their march without molestation, and halted on the banks of the Tigris, near a great decayed city, surrounded by impregnable walls, which Xenophon calls Larissa. Near it was a pyramid, on the top of which a number of peasants from the villages in the plain had taken refuge. The next day they came to another great city, similarly fortified, named Mespila, about which, as about Larissa, Xenophon heard a legend, in the style of the Arabian Nights, relating to the times of the Persian conquest ; but they saw no enemy. The day after, Tissaphernes came up with a numerous host, composed of his own cavalry and a detachment of the royal army, the troops of Orontes, and those which the king's brother, as we have already mentioned, had brought to join him. He did not however venture to charge the Greeks, but only endea-

voured to annoy their rear and flanks with his slingers and bowmen. But the Rhodians, and a few Scythian archers, who had probably belonged to the division of Clearchus, were found sufficient to ward off these insults, and for the rest of the day Tissaphernes kept following the march of the Greeks without doing them any mischief. Several of the long Persian bows, which fell into their hands, supplied the Cretan archers with weapons far superior to their own; and they endeavoured by continual practice to acquire the power of reaching a greater distance.¹

The abundance of provisions which they found in the villages where they halted, induced them to rest there the next day. As they pursued their march across the plain, Tissaphernes still hovered on their rear; and though in general he kept at a safe distance, he seems to have found some opportunities of annoying them; for the experience of this day's march taught them that the dispositions which had been adopted on Xenophon's proposal were inconvenient in a retreat, when an enemy was so close behind. Yet Xenophon does not say that any other form was substituted for the hollow square in which they had hitherto been moving, but only that six battalions of 100 men each were detached from the main body, and placed under separate officers, to serve as any emergency might arise, to remedy the irregularity which the various accidents of the road produced from time to time in the flanks of the column, and to preserve order in the fording of streams, and the crossing of bridges, or any other difficult and dangerous passage. In this way they marched four days, continually threatened, but little harmed, by the enemy's cavalry. On the fifth day they were attracted by the prospect of a palace, the residence of a satrap in the midst of a cluster of villages at the foot of a mountain,

¹ Ἐμελείων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἵκντες μακρὰν. It seems to be to these words that Raleigh alludes, when he says Hist. of the World iii. 10. 8.) that Xenophon *trained his archers to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point blank*. But this can scarcely have been Xenophon's meaning in this passage.

from which they were parted by several ranges of lower hills. They at first hoped that the inequalities of the ground would relieve them from the assaults of the cavalry. But when they began to descend from the top of the first ridge which they had to cross, they found themselves galled more than ever by the shower of missiles which was poured upon them from above, and which compelled their own archers and slingers to take refuge behind the ranks of the heavy infantry. The enemy indeed was soon dislodged from his vantage ground by a charge of the heavy armed. But the troops employed on this service suffered as before when they descended to rejoin the rest, and the annoyance was repeated in the crossing of the next ridge, so that when they reached the top of the third it was thought advisable to halt, and to send a body of targeteers to occupy the higher ground on their right. Their appearance prevented the enemy's approach; and moving on a line with the main body along the skirts of the mountain, they secured it from all further annoyance until it reached its halting-place in the villages near the satrap's palace. Here they rested three days, as well on account of the wounded, for whom eight physicians or surgeons were appointed, as to take advantage of the large store of provisions which had been laid up in the villages for the satrap's use. On the fourth, when they descended into the plain, Tissaphernes overtook them, and harassed them so much, that they halted at the first village they saw. For the number of the wounded was so great that, with the hands which were required to bear them, and to carry the arms of the bearers, it sensibly diminished the disposable force of the army. They were however able easily to repel an attack which the enemy made upon them in their quarters, and by a night march left him so far behind, that they did not see him again for three days. This relief they owed chiefly to the distance — never much less than eight miles — at which the Persians encamped, to avoid a surprise in the night, for which, Xenophon observes, a Persian army, consisting

mainly of cavalry, was peculiarly unprepared.¹ But on the fourth day they found that Tissaphernes, who had passed them in the night, had occupied a point of the mountain which commanded the road. He was however dislodged from the position by Xenophon, who, with a detachment of the heavy infantry, by dint of great exertions, gained a higher part of the ridge. The Greeks then came down upon a rich plain stretching to the Tigris, studded with villages, in which they found abundant supplies. In the afternoon Tissaphernes, who had taken a different road, suddenly appeared again, and cut off some of their stragglers. And now for the first time he began to try another mode of attack, and set fire to some of the villages. It was a confession, Xenophon said, on the part of the enemy, that the land was not his own, but was in their power. But notwithstanding this encouragement it would seem that not only the army, but the generals, were alarmed by the new attempt, which, as we have seen, had been before threatened by Tissaphernes, but which he seems to have reserved as a last expedient for the time when the Greeks should be inclosed as they now were between the mountains and the river. For at the north end of the plain precipitous cliffs, descending into the bed of the Tigris, stopt their passage: the stream was unfordable, and it became necessary to change the line of march. An ingenious Rhodian proposed to carry the army across the river upon a new kind of raft composed of inflated hides and skins. But the project was deemed impracticable in the face of the enemy's cavalry, who were seen in great numbers on the opposite bank. They therefore returned, having burnt the villages which they left, to their last quarters, and examined their prisoners as to the road which they were to take. To continue their march northward, without crossing the Tigris, it was necessary

¹ The same reason is assigned, nearly in the same terms, in the passage of the *Cyropædia* referred to in a preceding note (p. 302.) for the practice there mentioned. The horses in a barbarian camp, Xenophon observes, being shackled at their mangers, are, in case of attack, to be loosened, bridled, and saddled; and then the rider has to arm himself, and, when he is mounted, he can move but slowly through the crowd of the camp.

that they should enter the mountainous region on their right, which was inhabited by the fierce Carduchians, who had maintained their independence against the Great King, and had once totally destroyed an army of 120,000 men which he had sent to invade their territories. This however appeared to be the only practicable course, and was adopted. Tissaphernes, who had watched their retrograde movement, as if with surprise and curiosity, from a distance, when he saw them strike into the Carduchian mountains, gave up all further pursuit.

They had crossed the plain to the foot of the hills in the dark, during the last watch of the night, and found the passes unguarded. But the people fled from their villages at their approach, and, though the Greeks at first spared their property as much as possible, could not be induced to listen to any pacific overtures. They perhaps felt both their honour and their safety concerned to preserve their territory inviolate, and having recovered from their first surprise, and collected a part of their forces, fell upon the rear of the Greeks, and with their missiles made some slaughter among the last troops which issued, in the dusk of the evening, from the long and narrow defile. In the night the watchfires of the Carduchians were seen blazing on the peaks of the surrounding hills; signals, which warned the Greeks that they might expect to be attacked by the collected forces of their tribes. They felt that much would depend on the rapidity of their movements, and resolved to leave behind them their weaker cattle, and their captives, who retarded their march, consumed their provisions, and employed many hands to keep guard over them. Nevertheless during the next day's march the enemy hung upon their rear, compelling the heavy-armed from time to time to make sallies against them, and had occupied the summit of the only pass which seemed to cross the rugged mountains in front of them. Their situation would have been almost desperate, if Xenophon had not taken two of the natives in an ambush, one of whom, after he had seen his fellow put to death, undertook to guide them

to another pass. By this discovery a detachment of volunteers was enabled, after a hard struggle, to dislodge the enemy from his first position. Xenophon still endeavoured by means of his interpreter to negotiate a truce with them, for the purpose of burying the slain. But he soon discovered that they listened only to cover their hostile intentions; and, though the slain were restored in exchange for the guide, the army, during its march through the Carduchian territory, which lasted seven days, was forced to contest every pass. The barbarians were light of foot, so that they could approach securely within a short distance, and they discharged their arrows with such force as to pierce both shield and corslet. The Greeks suffered more from their resistance than from all the efforts which the king and Tissaphernes had made to arrest their progress, and were glad when descending from the mountains they encamped on the banks of the Centrites which flowed at about a mile from their foot, and divided the land of the Carduchians from Armenia, the satrapy of Orontes.

The opposite bank of the river was lined with hostile troops, infantry and cavalry, which had been collected by Orontes from his own satrapy, and from some of the neighbouring independent tribes, among which the Chaldeans were accounted the most warlike. The Greeks found that the river was too deep to be forded with safety in the face of such an enemy; and, as they saw the Carduchians assembled in great numbers behind them, apparently with the intention of attacking their rear when they began to cross, they felt themselves to be in imminent danger. But in the second night Xenophon had another encouraging dream, and the next morning he received information of a ford about half a mile off, at a place which was not accessible to the enemy's cavalry. They were thus enabled to effect their passage in spite of the threats of the Carduchians, who, though formidable in their mountains, when they came down into the plain, were put to flight by the charge of a small body of the heavy infantry. No

enemy now appeared, until having passed the sources of the Tigris, they came to the river Teleboas, on the frontier of the western Armenia, the satrapy of Teribazus. He himself came up to the Greek camp, attended by a few horsemen and an interpreter, and proposed a truce, on condition that the Greeks, in their passage through his province, should do no unnecessary damage. These terms were accepted ; but it was soon discovered that he was watching their movements with an army, and designed to occupy a pass which was their only outlet through the mountains on the western side of Armenia. This intelligence enabled them to disconcert his plans. Leaving a body of troops to guard their camp, they not only secured the pass, but falling suddenly on the camp of Teribazus, dispersed his forces, and made themselves masters of his tent, with all its furniture and a part of his household. They were thus released from the fear of the enemy ; and this was the last show of obstruction opposed to them during their retreat by the power of Persia. But in their march through the Armenian highlands they had to struggle with the inclemency of the season and the climate, which a more active enemy might perhaps have used for their destruction. The snow lay six feet deep on their road, and several of the men perished through the intensity of the cold, which was sometimes sharpened by a fierce north wind. This indeed abated, after a sacrifice which the soothsayers prescribed to Boreas ; but the men suffered so much from the frost and the snow, that it was often with great difficulty, and not without violence, that Xenophon could induce them to proceed. Their hardships however were but little aggravated by any attempts of the enemy ; for, though they were followed by some hostile bands, it seems to have been only for the sake of plunder, and these marauders were easily checked. So little preparation had been made to arrest their progress, that in some of the villages which they passed through, they made the natives believe that they were in the king's service, and marching to join

the satrap. The chief of a village, who was taken by Xenophon, both served them as a guide, and procured a hospitable reception for them in many of the Armenian villages, until a hasty blow, which he received from Cheirisophus, provoked him to make his escape. They however arrived in safety on the banks of a river which Xenophon calls the Phasis, and pursued their march without interruption, until they were stopt before a pass which they found guarded by three warlike tribes, the Chalybes, Taochians, and Phasians. After this obstacle had been surmounted by a detachment which gained a higher point in the ridge, and drove the enemy from his position, they had to encounter a still more formidable resistance from the Taochians, who defended their almost impregnable fortresses with desperate valour, and in their last retreat flung themselves, with their wives and children, down from the rocks, to avoid falling into the power of the victorious enemy.

It was in like manner, sword in hand, that they forced their way through the land of the Chalybes, the most warlike of all the tribes whose countries they traversed. They were armed nearly after the Greek fashion, and their towns, in which they had collected all their provisions, were so strongly fortified, that the Greeks would have been detained by almost insuperable difficulties, if they had not been able to subsist on the plunder of the Taochians. Among the next people whose land they entered, the Scythinians, they met with no opposition, and even with an appearance of goodwill: for the chief sent a guide to them, who promised in the course of five days to lead them to a place within view of the sea. He led them through the territory of a hostile tribe, and invited them to ravage it, and thus disclosed the motive of the chief's friendly behaviour. But he fulfilled his engagement. On the fifth day as the army was ascending mount Theçhe, a lofty ridge distinguished by the name of the Sacred Mountain, Xenophon and the rear-guard observed a stoppage, and an unusual clamour, in the foremost

ranks, which had reached the summit; and they supposed at first that they saw an enemy before them. But when Xenophon rode up to ascertain the cause, the first shouts that struck his ear were "The Sea, the Sea." The glad sound ran quickly till it reached the hindmost, and all pressed forward to enjoy the cheering spectacle. The Euxine spread its waters before their eyes; waters, which rolled on to the shores of Greece, and which washed the walls of many Greek cities on the nearest coast of Asia. Officers and men embraced one another with tears of joy. A pile of stones was reared on the summit of the Sacred Mountain, and crowned with captive arms, and other offerings. Then, having dismissed their guide with suitable presents, they followed the road which he had pointed out to them toward the coast.

It brought them to the confluence of two rivers, one of which divided the Scythinians from the Macrones, who were strongly posted on the opposite bank, and threatened by their hostile gestures and mutual exhortations to dispute the passage. Their shouts struck one of the Greek soldiers as a familiar sound. It was the land of his birth, from which he had been torn in his youth, to live as a slave at Athens. Through his mediation his countrymen were induced to lay aside their hostility, and even to afford the most friendly aid to the Greeks, whom they conducted to the borders of Colchis. After another hard struggle with the barbarians, who were in possession of a difficult pass of their mountains, they descended to the coast, and reached the friendly walls of Trapezus, a colony of Sinope, on Colchian ground, where they were hospitably entertained, and celebrated their deliverance with votive sacrifices and solemn games.

The prevailing desire of the whole army was now to return as soon as possible to Greece. But the Greek cities on the south coast of the Euxine were interspersed over the territories of many fierce and independent tribes: and after the toils and hardships of the march which

they had just ended, having the sea immediately before them, the men were extremely averse to the thought of pursuing their journey by land. They would, as one of them said, have done with the watches and labours and dangers of the camp and the field, and be carried home, like Ulysses, stretched asleep on the deck. Cheirisophus, being acquainted with Anaxibius, who was at this time Admiral of Sparta, and was stationed at Byzantium, was commissioned to obtain transports, to fetch them away from Trapezus. During his absence, Xenophon advised that they should borrow some galleys from the Trapezuntians, and force as many vessels as they could into their service. But Dexippus, a Laconian, who was sent out with a penteconter for this purpose, instead of discharging his commission, sailed away to Byzantium: and Cheirisophus lingered so long that the Greeks — after a dangerous expedition on which they were led by the Trapezuntians against a neighbouring tribe, the Drilæ, one of the most warlike on the Euxine, whose hostile inroads frequently annoyed Trapezus — found themselves compelled by the want of provisions to shift their quarters. The men above forty, with the women — of whom a great number had followed the army — the children and the sick, were embarked in the vessels which had been procured. The rest proceeded by land to Cerasus, also a colony of Sinope in the land of the Colchians. Here they reviewed their forces; and it was found that of about 10,000 men who had set out from Sardis or from Cunaxa, 8600 had survived. The money taken by the sale of the captives was here distributed; and a tenth, which was reserved for Apollo and the Ephesian Artemis, was divided among the generals, to be laid out at their discretion in honour of those deities.

At Cerasus they remained ten days; and before their departure the generals experienced an alarming proof of the difficulty of maintaining discipline among a body of troops so composed when they were no longer restrained by the sense of a common danger. A neighbouring tribe of friendly barbarians was treacherously attacked

by a party of volunteers, led against them by an officer who hoped to enrich himself with the booty, but fell with many of his followers in the assault; and their envoys, who came to Cerasus for satisfaction, were stoned to death by some of the survivors. This outrage was perpetrated after the main body had resumed its march; but when the Cerasuntians proceeded to the camp to complain of it, they there witnessed another tumult in which an officer belonging to what we should call the commissariat¹, was threatened with death by the soldiers. These occurrences seem to have excited alarm at Cotyora, where the army next arrived, after having traversed the territory of the savage Mosynœcians, and the citizens refused either to afford it a market, or to admit the sick within their walls. But the Greeks, having forced their way into the town, compelled them to receive the sick into their houses, and plundered the circumjacent country. Cotyora was a colony of Sinope, planted in the land of the Tibarenes, and both paid tribute to the parent city, and was governed by a Sinopian harmost. The Sinopians were alarmed for their subjects, and sent envoys to expostulate with the Greeks on their hostile proceedings. Xenophon defended them on the plea of necessity, and repelled the threats thrown out by the chief of the embassy — who talked of calling in the aid of the Paphlagonian king, Corylas, against them — in a manner which induced him to change his tone, and to exert his authority to procure a more hospitable reception for them at Cotyora.

The envoys were next consulted on the best mode of proceeding toward Greece. They described the obstacles which the army would have to encounter, if it attempted to force its way through Paphlagonia, as insuperable; and so strong was their anxiety to get rid of their formidable guests, that they engaged to provide transports for the whole army; and three deputies were sent back with them to Sinope, to fetch the vessels. During their stay at Cotyora, which lasted forty-five

¹ Ἀγρονομός.

days, Xenophon thought he saw a favourable opportunity for executing a project, which he seems to have had for some time in his mind, of planting a new colony on the coast of the Euxine. But the soothsayer Silanus, to whom he communicated the scheme, was desirous of returning home to enjoy the munificent present which he had received from Cyrus, and both prematurely divulged Xenophon's views, and did his utmost to thwart them. And the greater part of the men seemed so averse to them, that Xenophon found it necessary to declare that he had abandoned them. But the rumour of his design enabled Timasion and Thorax, a Bœotian, to work upon the fears of some merchants from Sinope and Heraclea, who were present in Cotyora, and by their reports these two cities were induced to offer to provide pay as well as vessels for the troops, on condition that they should sail away to Greece, and even engaged Timasion by a promise of money to exert his influence for promoting this object. When however it was discovered that Xenophon had drept or at least disclaimed the purpose attributed to him, and that the men were bent on returning home, the Sinopians and Heracleots no longer thought it necessary to fulfil these promises, and sent the transports without any money. Timasion who, relying on their assurances, had made large promises to the soldiers, now dreaded the effects of their disappointment, and would have persuaded Xenophon to resume his project, and to join him and the other generals — who with the exception of Neon, the lieutenant of Cheirisophus, were all ready to share the expedition — in an attempt to found a colony on the banks of the Phasis. It is not clear how they could have hoped to succeed in such an enterprise: for when a rumour of it was circulated in the army, and Neon, ignorantly or maliciously, imputed it to Xenophon, who had refused to concur in it, the men seemed to be on the point of breaking out into a mutiny, and Xenophon was again obliged to vindicate himself, and to point out the absurdity of supposing that he meant to

accomplish such an object either by artifice or violence against their inclinations. He took this opportunity of relating the scenes which had taken place at Cerasus, which were not generally known, and excited universal indignation, and proposed a solemn lustration to purify the army from the stain of blood. This transaction suggested the thought of a court which was held to receive an account from the generals of their conduct during the expedition. Some charges of peculation and negligence were brought and proved, and sundry penalties inflicted. Xenophon himself did not escape accusation, but the calumnies with which he was assailed not only afforded him an opportunity of clearing himself from the imputation cast on him, of an oppressive exercise of his authority, but revived the recollection of numberless acts of kindness and self-denial, by which he had earned the gratitude of the men under his command, and of the whole army.

A sufficient number of transports was at length collected for the embarkation of all the troops, and a fair wind brought them in the course of two days to Harmene, the port of Sinope, where they were hospitably entertained, and were found by Cheirisophus, who returned with a single galley, but brought a message of congratulation and praise from Anaxibius, and a promise, that when they came out of the Euxine, he would provide employment and pay for them. They had now left almost all obstacles behind them, and all anxiety about their return had been sufficiently removed to make room for other cares. Their main wish now was to carry home some fruit of the long and laborious expedition which was just drawing to its close. For this purpose it seemed advisable that the command should no longer be divided among many generals, but should be lodged in the hands of a single chief. The thirst of plunder had opened their eyes more effectually than all their past dangers to the benefit which might be expected from secrecy of counsel and promptness of action. The unanimous choice of the army fell upon

Xenophon ; and he was strongly pressed by the inferior officers to accept the supreme command. As he owns that he was powerfully tempted by the offer, we can hardly refuse to believe him when he asserts that it was by the unfavourable aspect of the victims which he consulted that he was induced to decline it, though he himself assigned a much more rational motive for his conduct, — the reflection that such a distinction conferred on an Athenian, when a Lacedæmonian was present, might awaken the jealousy of the Spartans. The command was accordingly bestowed on Cheirisophus, who, while he accepted it, observed that Xenophon had acted prudently in declining it, since Dexippus — the man who had so treacherously deserted his comrades at Trapezus — had already been endeavouring to injure him in the opinion of Anaxibius, to whom he had represented him as a person of dangerous ambition, and of views hostile to the interests of Sparta. But Cheirisophus was not aware of all the perils to which he was himself exposed in his new station.

The army re-embarked, and the wind continuing fair carried it in two days to the port of Heraclea. The Heracleots sent a present of flour, wine, sheep, and oxen, sufficient to supply its wants for two or three days. But this hospitable treatment only served to inflame the cupidity which had been awakened as soon as fear began to subside ; and one Lycus, an Achæan, proposed to demand a large subsidy from Heraclea. The motion was carried, and when Cheirisophus and Xenophon, strenuously remonstrating against this injustice, refused to be the bearers of the message, it was entrusted to other envoys who delivered it in threatening language. They were dismissed with an equivocal answer ; and the Heracleots immediately made preparations for defending their city. The authors of the iniquitous project vented their disappointment in murmurs against those who had opposed it, and persuaded the Arcadians and Achæans, who formed more than half the army, to separate themselves from the rest, and

to try to mend their fortunes under generals of their own. Thus, within six or seven days after his election, Cheirisophus found himself reduced to his former rank, with the loss of all the Arcadians and Achæans who had hitherto served under him. Xenophon was now inclined to throw up his command; but he was induced to retain it partly, as he says, by the appearance of the sacrifices, and partly by the prospect of embarking under the protection of Cleander, the Spartan harmost of Byzantium, who was expected with a squadron at Port Calpe on the coast of Bithynia.

The army left Heraclea in three divisions. The Arcadians and Achæans — more than 4500 heavy armed infantry under the command of ten generals invested with equal powers — eager for the spoil of Bithynia, embarked first, and landed at Port Calpe. Cheirisophus, with 1400 heavy armed, and 700 Thracian targeteers, marched along the coast toward the same point. Xenophon — who leaves us in great doubt as to his motives for parting from Cheirisophus — sailed as far as the confines of Bithynia, and then struck into the interior. His division consisted of 1700 heavy infantry, about 300 targeteers, and forty cavalry, the only force of that kind in the army. He had perhaps chosen the upper road in the hope of averting or remedying the calamities which he might well augur from the rashness and presumption of the more numerous body, and in fact he came up just in time to rescue them from the Bithynians who had surrounded a hill on which they had taken refuge, but dispersed in the night as soon as they saw the fires which Xenophon had kindled at a distance. The three divisions met in safety at Port Calpe; and, having gained wisdom by the recent disaster, agreed never more to part company.

The army was detained at Calpe several days; at first, when on the point of setting out to march across Bithynia to the Bosphorus, by the unpropitious appearance of the victims — which, Xenophon says, some were bold enough to ascribe to his management — afterwards

waiting for the arrival of Cleander. Xenophon's narrative of the transactions of this interval is very mysterious. It is clear from his description of the peninsula of Calpe, that he thought the situation admirably adapted for a colony. It was generally believed in the army that he wished to found one there ; and the men were on this account unwilling to encamp in a strong position which might have served as the citadel of a new town, and when at last they were compelled to do so through fear of the Bithynians and Pharnabazus, this encampment was universally regarded as the beginning of a settlement. Xenophon however does not inform us how far this opinion was well grounded, but only seems anxious to guard himself from the suspicion of collusion with the soothsayers ; a suspicion which it is nevertheless very difficult to suppress, when we find the sacrifices by which the movements of the army were regulated, uniformly tending toward the object which he was supposed to have had in view. Cheirisophus died of a fever at Calpe, and Neon, who succeeded him, having led out 2000 men on a foraging excursion in spite of the adverse omens, was surprised by the cavalry which Pharnabazus had sent to aid the Bithynians, and lost 500 of his troops. After this disaster, the sacrifices no longer forbade an expedition, in which the Greeks revenged themselves by a complete victory over the satrap's forces.

Soon afterwards Cleander arrived ; but he brought only two galleys of war, and no transports. He was accompanied by Dexippus, who had laboured to prejudice him against the army and especially against Xenophon, and by his own misconduct provoked a tumult, in which Cleander believed his person to have been threatened. The power of Sparta was at this time so formidable, that Xenophon dreaded the worst consequences from his resentment, and persuaded the army to appease it by the most respectful submission to his pleasure. The Spartan did not want generosity. and being at length convinced that Dexippus had deceived him, ad-

mitted Xenophon to his friendship, and took the army under his protection. A march of six days, in the course of which they collected a great booty, brought them through Bithynia to Chrysopolis, over against Byzantium. While they stayed here to dispose of the spoil, they received two invitations from different quarters to cross over to Europe. Pharnabazus feared that they might be tempted, both by cupidity and revenge, to invade his satrapy, and by such offers as few Spartans were able to resist engaged Anaxibius to use his influence to draw them out of Asia. Anaxibius accordingly sent for the principal officers to Byzantium, and repeated the promise which he had before made through Cheirisophus, of taking them into pay as soon as they came over. Xenophon announced his intention of quitting the army, but was persuaded by the Spartans to remain with it until it had landed in Europe. It happened that at this time Seuthes, an Odrysian prince, who had inherited a part of the great monarchy of Sitalces, including some of its maritime regions, having been expelled from his dominions, was striving to recover them with a body of troops which had been sent to his assistance by Medocus, who was now reigning over the more inland tribes still subject to the Odrysian empire. Seuthes was desirous of engaging the Cyrean troops, as they began to be called, in his service, and sent a Thracian, named Medesades, to negotiate for this object with Xenophon, who, he promised, should not find him ungrateful for his good offices, if he would induce the army to cross the channel. Xenophon however informed the envoy that this measure was already resolved on; and that when it was executed his own connection with the army would cease.

Anaxibius, having accomplished his end, when the troops had landed at Byzantium, would immediately have dismissed them without either pay or provisions, to make their way into the Thracian Chersonesus, where, he informed them, they would find employment under the command of Cyniscus, apparently another Spartan

officer. This intelligence was communicated to the men just as they had issued from the gates of Byzantium ; and it provoked a transport of indignation in which they burst into the city, and were only restrained from keeping possession of it, by the remonstrances of Xenophon, whom many of them urged to seize this opportunity of rising to greatness by placing himself at their head. He convinced them of the desperate rashness of braving the power of Sparta, and persuaded them to evacuate the place. He himself adhered to his resolution of quitting the army, and having with some difficulty obtained permission from Anaxibius to re-enter the town for the purpose of embarking, took leave of his comrades. The other generals were divided in their interests and views. The army, while it lay before the walls, was deceived for a day or two by the absurd pretensions of an adventurer named Cœratades — a character which could not have appeared at an earlier period, and which in its ludicrous extravagance bears the stamp of the national calamities. He was travelling about in search of employment as a general, and, by a promise that he would lead them upon a profitable expedition, and in the meanwhile would supply them with provisions in abundance, prevailed upon the Cyreans to elect him commander-in-chief. But it was soon found that he had no means of maintaining them even for a single day ; and during the interval of suspense which ensued, while the generals were contending each for his own object, many of the men withdrew from the camp, sold their arms, and either sailed away, or took up their abode in Byzantium, and other neighbouring cities.

Anaxibius heard with pleasure that the army was beginning to dwindle away, as he hoped the sooner to receive the reward of his services from Pharnabazus. But being shortly after superseded by a new Admiral, he found himself neglected by the satrap, who transferred all his attention to Aristarchus, who was come to succeed Cleander as harmost of Byzantium. Anaxibius had met Aristarchus at Cyzicus, and had instructed

nim to sell all the Cyreans whom he found in Byzantium as slaves : an act of cruelty to which Cleander had always refused to consent. But he was now only intent on revenging himself, and, sending for Xenophon, who was at Parium on the Asiatic coast, urged him to sail with all speed to the army, and induce it to cross over to Asia, and invade the satrap's province. Xenophon, who seems to have been led to resign his command chiefly through fear of Spartan jealousy, gladly executed this commission, and the men as readily embraced his proposal. But the threats of Aristarchus, who was no less venal than Anaxibius, and had become equally devoted to the interests of Pharnabazus, compelled them to desist from this enterprise. Xenophon, who in the mean time had received another message from Seuthes, now entered into treaty with the Thracian prince, and finally engaged the whole army, except a corps of 800 men under Neon, in his service. After a hard winter's campaign, Seuthes found himself restored to his dominions by the aid of the Greeks, and would then have defrauded them of the pay which had become due to them. But Sparta had now herself need of them for a war which she was beginning in Asia, of which we shall speak in the next chapter, and, with the concurrence of the Spartan commissioners, Xenophon constrained Seuthes to satisfy the claims of the troops before they embarked to be incorporated with the other Spartan levies. With their return to Asia the history of the expedition ends.

The events which we have been relating soon became known throughout Greece, and they suggested several interesting reflections to a thoughtful observer. From the days of Aristagoras the Greeks, though they had long ceased to view the Persian power with apprehension, had regarded the Great King as inaccessible to their attacks in his eastern capitals. But now a Persian prince, thoroughly acquainted with the strength of the empire, had advanced 2000 miles into the interior to dethrone the reigning monarch, with an army in which

the only troops on which, according to his public declarations, he placed any reliance were about 10,000 Greek adventurers. The battle of Cunaxa proved that he had not miscalculated his means, and that it was not the want of force, but either of prudence or of fortune, that caused the failure of his enterprise. Even after his death this handful of Greeks had felt themselves able to dispose of the throne of Asia, and the sequel seemed to show that this confidence was not ill grounded. The Persian court had betrayed its weakness and its fears, in all the attempts which it made to cut off their retreat; and their struggles with the independent tribes through which they passed, proved both the great number of nations dwelling within the compass of the king's dominions which defied his power with impunity, and that no region of Asia was impervious to the arms of the Greeks. The practical inference was immediately drawn, though it was not fully demonstrated till near a century later.

But before we again fall into the main current of Grecian history, it seems due to the celebrated man who fills so conspicuous a place in the latter part of the foregoing narrative, that we should pause a few moments to consider the close of his personal adventures, though it lies at some distance beyond the point of time which we have reached. Xenophon had prudently declined the offers with which Seuthes tempted him to sacrifice his reputation, and the goodwill of the army, to temporary gain, or a settlement on the coast of Thrace. He still professed the intention of returning home, but was persuaded by his friends to accompany the army into Asia, and to consign it to the Spartan officer under whom it was henceforth to serve. He arrived at Lamp-sacus with the esteem and gratitude of his comrades heightened by his recent conduct, but with so scanty a provision for his own wants, that he was obliged to sell a favourite horse to supply himself with the means of journeying homeward. But not long after he led the troops on a marauding excursion in Lydia, from

which they returned with a large booty; and the portion which they reserved for him, made him, as he says, rich enough to be bountiful to others. He now perhaps expected to return to Athens in affluence and honour; but this was not his lot. He returned to Greece an exile, bearing arms against his fellow citizens, whom he met in battle on the field of Coronea. We have no sure information as to the cause of his banishment; but the most probable account seems to be that which assigns it to one by which the forebodings of Socrates were realised¹; and it is not difficult to conceive that the resentment of the Athenians was excited as well by the share he took in the expedition of Cyrus, as by the services which he had rendered to Sparta after his return. But we know too little of his private connections, or his political relations, to be sure that other motives did not at least concur with this to occasion his sentence: and indeed his own narrative, strictly interpreted, would lead us to conclude, that it had not been passed until he had set out with the Spartan king Agesilaus on his expedition against Athens and her allies.

The Spartans rewarded him for his attachment to them, with the title of proxenus, and with a grant of land and a house near the town of Scillus in Triphylia, in a pleasant valley not far from the plain of Olympia. Here he fixed his abode, and was enabled to consecrate the scene of his retirement by an act of piety. He had carried the portion of the votive tenth which fell to his share in the division of the booty at Cerasus, as far as Ephesus, and, when he was on the point of setting out with Agesilaus, deposited the part due to the Ephesian goddess, with Megabyzus, the guardian of her temple, to be restored to him if he should pass safely through the dangers of the approaching campaign, otherwise to be laid out in an offering to Artemis. After he had settled at Scillus, Megabyzus arrived there on a pilgrimage to Olympia, and restored the deposit, with which Xenophon purchased a tract of land in the vale

¹ Paus. v. 6 5.

of Scillus, dedicated it to the goddess, and on it built a small fane after the model of the great temple of Ephesus, in which he placed an image of cypress wood shaped like the golden Ephesian idol. The temple stood in a grove of fruit trees; the rest of the sacred land consisted chiefly of pastures and woods abounding in game: and a little stream which flowed through it, was named, like one within the precincts of the Ephesian Artemisium, Selinus. A festival was celebrated every year in honour of the goddess, and was attended by a large concourse of worshippers from the neighbouring districts, who were entertained with the produce of the sacred land, according to a solemn obligation recorded on a pillar which stood near the temple, by which the possessor was bound to consume a tenth of its fruits in a yearly sacrifice. In this delightful retreat Xenophon spent many quiet yet active years, dividing his time between his literary occupations, the pleasures of the chase, and the society of his family and friends. It seems however that he did not end his days here, though the causes which led him to quit it are not well ascertained. According to one author he was driven away by an inroad of the Eleans, and took refuge in Corinth, where he is said to have died at an advanced age.¹ But according to another statement he was restored to his native city, and by a decree moved by the same orator, Eubulus, who had been the author of his banishment. And since, as we shall see, a time came when to be a friend of Sparta was no longer an offence at Athens, the fact of his recall is by no means improbable²; and it would even appear that in his old age he endeavoured to atone for his ancient hostility by a chimerical project for the improvement of the Athenian finances.

¹ Diog. Laert. ii. 60.

² It would seem indeed to follow from the oration of Dinarchus, mentioned by Diog. La. ii. 52. that he resided for some time at Athens.

CHAP. XXXV.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN SPARTA
AND PERSIA TO THE DEATH OF LYSANDER.

THE motives which induced the Spartan government to declare itself in favour of Cyrus in his contest with his elder brother, were not perhaps without a mixture of personal feelings, but they were certainly not pure gratitude and goodwill. It no doubt perceived that it would be conferring a weighty obligation on one of the rivals, who might become a still more powerful and useful ally than he had hitherto been, while its forbearance would be but little prized by the other. The issue of the enterprise of Cyrus could not inspire it with much uneasiness. If he should not fully succeed, there might still be a prospect of dividing or weakening the Persian empire; and if he should utterly fail, it had nothing to dread but a war with Persia; an event to which it had probably begun already to look forward more with hope than with fear. The victory of Artaxerxes soon afforded it an occasion for manifesting the new spirit which animated its councils. While the Greeks were on their return, Tissaphernes was sent down to the West to receive the reward of his signal services, having been appointed to the government of the provinces which had been before subject to Cyrus, in addition to his own satrapy, and invested with the like superintending authority as had been given to the prince. He now claimed the dominion of the Ionian cities as included within his new province; but he found them very unwilling to submit to him. They had provoked his displeasure by the preference which they had shown for Cyrus: they dreaded his resentment, and they

hoped with the aid of Sparta to be able to maintain their independence. Their envoys pressed the Spartan government, as the acknowledged head of the Greek nation, to protect them from the yoke and from the vengeance of the barbarian. The Spartans no longer considered themselves bound by the treaty in which, at a time when they were in need of Persian gold, they had acknowledged the king's title to the whole of Asia; and they seem gladly to have embraced the opportunity thus offered of extending their credit and power. Thimbron was sent, with the title of *harmost*, to undertake the defence of the Ionians, at the head of an army consisting only of 1000 Neodamodes, and about 4000 Peloponnesian troops, and 300 Athenian cavalry, which he had demanded and offered to maintain, perhaps not without a hint that such a requisition would be welcome. In fact it enabled the Athenians, without any breach of the amnesty, to rid themselves of so many citizens of the equestrian class, who, as they had been among the steadiest supporters of the Thirty, could never be viewed without suspicion.

Thimbron on his arrival in Asia collected reinforcements to the amount of about 3000 men¹ from the Greek cities, where, as Xenophon observes, the will of a Spartan at this time was law. Still the enemy's superiority in cavalry was so great, that he did not venture at first to descend into the open plain, where he would have been exposed to its attacks, but contented himself with defending the immediate neighbourhood of more tenable positions. The scene of these operations however was not Ionia, but the more northern coast near the satrapy of Pharnabazus, toward which Tissaphernes had marched, perhaps with the view of keeping the war at as great a distance as he could from that part of his province in which his private property lay; and he had been engaged for some time without success in the siege of Cuma.² Thimbron's first object was to meet the Cyrean troops, and soon after their

¹ The army, when Derxylidas took the command, amounted to 8000 men. Xenoph. *Hell.* iii. 1. 25.

² Diodor. xiv. 35.

arrival at Pergamus he incorporated them with his own, and now felt himself strong enough to face the enemy on any ground. Pergamus, and several other towns in this region, submitted to him. Among them were some which were governed by two remarkable Greek families; by the descendants of the Spartan exile Demaratus, who bore the names of Eurysthenes and Procles, and by Gorgion and Gongylus, who inherited the lordship which had been granted by the Persian king to their ancestor Gongylus, an Eretrian, as the reward of his treason to the cause of Greece.¹ But their national feelings, or their fears, were stronger than their gratitude, and they opened the gates of their towns to their countrymen. Some other places Thimbron took by assault; but before Larissa — that distinguished by the epithet of the Egyptian — he was detained so long by the vigorous resistance of the besieged, that he received orders from the ephors to waste no more time there, but to march into Caria, and carry the war to the doors of Tissaphernes.

But nearly at the time that these orders were sent, complaints were laid against him at Sparta by the allies, which induced the government to supersede him before he had completed his year of office. He either neglected to preserve discipline among his troops, or had been compelled by the want of other resources to connive at the depredations they committed in the friendly country through which they passed. At Ephesus he was met by his successor Dercyllidas, to whom he immediately resigned his command. On his return to Sparta he was sentenced to a fine, and was either banished or driven into exile by the heaviness of the penalty. Dercyllidas was a Spartan of Lysander's school, so notorious for his mastery in the arts of stratagem and intrigue, as to have earned the nickname of Sisyphus, the legendary exemplar of cunning. His first measure was one in which he consulted his private passions rather than the public interest, but at the same time gave proof of his dexterity,

¹ Xenophon says he was the only Eretrian who was exiled on account of his treason. But there were others who shared it. *Her.* vi. 100. See Vol. II. p. 232.

and revealed the weakness of the Persian system of government. He knew that great jealousy existed between Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, who, once his equal, had lately been raised to a higher rank by the commission which appointed him successor to Cyrus; and he took advantage of it to divide their forces, and to revenge himself on Pharnabazus, who had once drawn an ignominious military punishment upon him while he commanded as harmost of Abydos under Lysander. He concluded an armistice with Tissaphernes on the condition that he should turn his arms against Pharnabazus; and while Tissaphernes thus showed his indifference to his master's interests, by abandoning a colleague whom it was his duty to protect, the Spartan ventured to disregard the orders given to Thimbron, and bent his march northward, toward the midland district called *Æolis*, from the *Æolian* towns which peopled it. It included a part of the skirts and of the upper valleys of mount *Ida*, and was subject to Pharnabazus. On his way he exhibited a strong and advantageous contrast to the laxity of his predecessor's discipline, in the strictness with which he compelled his troops to respect the property of their allies. And on his arrival in *Æolis* he lighted upon an extraordinary supply, which enabled him with ease and safety to persevere in the same system. It was the result of a train of events on which *Xenophon* dwells with evident pleasure for the sake of the moral lesson, and with a minuteness which we could have wished him to have reserved for matters of higher historical interest, which he has left in comparative obscurity.

Pharnabazus had committed the government of his *Æolis*, as it was called to distinguish it from the maritime region occupied by the *Æolian* colonies, to *Zenis*, a Greek of *Dardanus*. On the death of *Zenis*, *Mania* his widow, an able and enterprising woman, by a timely application to the satrap, accompanied with rich presents both to himself and the principal persons of his court and household, prevailed on him to let her succeed her husband: an appointment much less repugnant to Persian

than to Greek ideas of the capacities and functions of her sex. Her administration was active, prudent, and prosperous. She took a body of Greek mercenaries into pay, with which she reduced three of the adjacent maritime towns, Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ, superintending their operations in person, and rewarding their exertions with discriminating liberality. She attended the satrap on his military expeditions, conciliated his favour by her exactness in the payment of the tribute, her munificence, and her hospitality, and was admitted to a share in his councils. Within her dominions she exercised absolute authority, and amassed an ample treasure. A son and daughter, the one rising toward manhood, the other married, promised stability and increase to her good fortune. But destruction fell upon her from the quarter to which she looked with the greatest confidence for security. Meidias her son-in-law, instigated both by his own ambition, and by the suggestions of evil counsellors, who taught him to deem himself degraded by subjection to a woman, murdered her and her son, and made himself master of Scepsis and Gergis, the two towns in which, as places of strength, she had lodged the greater part of her treasures. The other towns, which were garrisoned by the Greek mercenaries, refused to receive him, and continued to acknowledge the authority of Pharnabazus. Meidias now sent presents to the satrap, and applied for the government which his crimes had made vacant. But Pharnabazus returned his presents with a threatening message "to keep them, till he should come, and take the gifts with the giver; he would rather die than leave the murder of Mania unavenged."

Such was the state of affairs when Dercyllidas arrived. After having received the submission of the three maritime towns which Mania had conquered, he sent to invite those of Æolis to assert their independence, and to enter into alliance with Sparta. His proposals were immediately accepted by three of them, where the garrisons after Mania's death had committed some disorders,

Cebren, a strong place, held out four days, during which Dercyllidas professed to be seeking favourable auspices. But the garrison was discontented, and forced its commander to surrender before any attack had been made. He then marched against Scepsis. Meidias, threatened by Pharnabazus, and conscious that he was hated by the Scepsians, thought it safest to come to terms with Dercyllidas, and offered to repair in person to the Spartan camp, on receiving hostages for his security. Dercyllidas gave him as many as he would ; but when he had him in his power, informed him that he must resign his authority at Scepsis, and Meidias, seeing himself helpless, permitted him to enter the town, turn out the garrison, and proclaim liberty and independence. Meidias begged that he might be allowed to keep Gergis, but he received an evasive answer, and was forced to order his garrison to throw open its gates to the army of Dercyllidas. The Spartan general incorporated the guards of Meidias — as no longer needed for his safety — with his own troops, and then took possession of all the property of Mania, and cheered his men by announcing that it would provide them with regular pay for nearly a year to come. The wretched man, whom he still affected to treat as a guest and a friend, seeing himself stript of all the fruits of his villany, asked where he was to live. “Where,” was the reply, “but in your native town, Scepsis, on your patrimony?” To the fallen tyrant, the unprotected assassin, it was a prospect of misery, shame, and death.

Dercyllidas having thus, within eight days, made himself master of a great part of *Æolis*, and laid in an ample provision for the maintenance of his troops, was only anxious to preserve his conquests without burdening his allies, by remaining among them during the ensuing winter. He therefore proposed a truce to Pharnabazus, whose superiority in cavalry would have enabled him to give great annoyance to the revolted Greeks in the absence of the Spartan army ; and the satrap, who had no less reason to apprehend hostile incursions from *Æolis* into

the heart of his territories, willingly accepted the offer. Dercyllidas now marched into the country of the Bithynian Thracians, who were nominally subject to Pharnabazus, but were in fact independent and hostile, and during the winter subsisted and enriched his troops, and a body of Odrysians who joined him there, with the plunder of their villages: though not with perfect impunity; for on one occasion the Bithynians surprised the Odrysian camp, recovered the booty, and killed nearly 200 Greeks who had been left to guard it. The Odrysians, after this disaster, encamped with their allies.

In the spring of 399 Dercyllidas quitted Bithynia, and marched southward. At Lampsacus he was joined by three Spartan commissioners, Aracus, Navates, and Antisthenes, who were sent to inspect the state of affairs in Asia, and who announced to him that his command was to be prolonged for another year. While they conferred this mark of approbation on himself, they were charged to communicate to his men the satisfaction which the ephors felt at the amendment which had taken place in their conduct, and to express a hope, that they would persevere in their good behaviour. When these general orders were orally delivered before the assembled army, the commander of the Cyrean troops — probably Xenophon himself — took the opportunity to observe that the praise and the blame rested, not with the soldiers, but with the generals who had been set over them. Dercyllidas escorted the commissioners as far as Ephesus, and then left them to continue their progress through the Greek cities, which after having been afflicted with the worst evils of tyranny and faction through Lysander's ambitious policy, had begun to recover their tranquillity and prosperity under a better system. Lysander's creatures had exercised their power in many places perhaps not less oppressively than the Thirty at Athens, and it seems that the revolution which took place there under Spartan sanction had encouraged the Asiatic Greeks to overthrow their decarchies.¹ Much confusion and bloodshed

¹ The supposition that this change was made *after* the Spartan commissioners had witnessed the tranquil and prosperous condition of these cities,

might have ensued ; but the ephors, among whom the influence of Pausanias was for the time predominant, wisely interfered, and directed or consented to the restoration of the ancient form of government. While the commissioners were engaged in observing the beneficial effects of these changes, Dercyllidas was occupied with an undertaking which had been accidentally suggested to him by their conversation. They had informed him that they had left envoys from the Greeks of the Thracian Chersonesus at Sparta, who came to apply for protection from their barbarian neighbours, which, it was thought, might be most effectually provided for by a wall carried across the isthmus ; and it was expected that the Spartan government would be induced to send an officer with a body of troops to conduct this work. On this hint Dercyllidas formed his resolution, which however he kept to himself. He renewed the truce with Pharnabazus, and then crossed the Hellespont with his army, and marched to the court of Seuthes, where he was hospitably received. The object of this visit was perhaps connected, though we do not know precisely in what manner, with his subsequent operations. Having come to the isthmus, and inspected and measured the ground, which is a little more than four miles in breadth, he distributed the line of fortification in portions among his men, and quickened their activity and emulation with a promise of rewards. Thus speeded, the wall, which was begun in the spring, was finished before autumn. It is possible however that he found parts of a wall which had been built by Pericles for the same purpose, still standing, and had only to restore it upon the old foundation. The work, when completed, enabled a comparatively small garrison to protect the whole Chersonesus, which included eleven towns, several fine harbours, and a large tract of highly fruitful country,

is one which was perhaps natural enough for a determined apologist of Lysander, but is in itself so violently improbable, that the awkward fictions devised to support it may safely be left to fall by their own weight. Compare Xenophon *Hell.* iii. 4. 2. and Plut. *Lys.* 21.

from the inroads of the ferocious Thracians of the interior.¹ Dercyllidas then returned to Asia, and was detained eight months by the siege of Atarneus, a strong fortress which was held by a body of exiles from Chios, who from this point carried on an incessant predatory warfare against Ionia. Having at length overcome their obstinate resistance, he put a garrison into the place, under the command of Draco an Achæan of Pallene, and provided it with magazines, for his future sojourn, or for a refuge which might be needed in a less prosperous state of affairs, and then returned to Ephesus.

Tissaphernes had hitherto remained unmolested ; but it would seem that he had not abstained from enforcing his demands on the Greek cities, and they again sent envoys to Sparta for relief. They represented that he might be brought to acknowledge their independence, if he found himself attacked in Caria, where his private possessions lay, and the ephors gave orders, that Dercyllidas should invade Caria by land, while their admiral Pharax acted in concert with him on the coast. The two officers appear to have executed these orders with great alertness, and the Spartan army had crossed the Mæander, while Tissaphernes was on the other side in conference with Pharnabazus, who had come to obtain his assistance for the purpose of expelling the invaders from the king's dominions. Tissaphernes required his colleague first to accompany him into Caria, and provide for the security of the province ; and when they had placed sufficient garrisons in the Carian strongholds, they resolved to carry hostilities into Ionia. Dercyllidas was now apprehensive for the safety of their Ionian allies, and proposed to Pharax to repass the Mæander. The enemy was supposed to be far in advance ; but the Greek army as it marched along the vale of the Mæander one day found itself unexpectedly in presence of the

¹ Xenophon's language, *Hell.* iii. 2 11., very clearly implies, that the wall was completed before Dercyllidas returned to Asia: and we do not perceive the necessity of supposing with Mr. Clinton, *F. H.* ii. p. 92., that he began the siege of Atarneus, while the rampart was building. If the siege began in the autumn, it seems to allow time for his subsequent operations.

united forces of the satraps, which consisted of Carians, Greek mercenaries — for both satraps had some in their pay — and a numerous cavalry. Dercyllidas, though taken by surprise, soon put his European troops in order of battle ; but the Asiatic Greeks were so much alarmed by the evident superiority of the enemy's numbers, that many of them immediately dropt their arms in the standing corn, and took to flight, and the rest clearly betrayed the same purpose. Pharnabazus was desirous of giving battle ; but Tissaphernes shrunk from an engagement with troops, whom he believed to be all invincible, like the Cyreans, and sent a message to Dercyllidas, to propose a conference. The wily Spartan gave audience to the envoys in front of a body of picked men, affected to receive their proposals with indifference, and demanded an exchange of pledges. When they were given, the two armies separated, the barbarians to take up their quarters at Tralles, the Greeks at Leucophrys, a famed sanctuary of Artemis in the vale of the Mæander. The next day the chiefs met, and a negotiation was opened. But Dercyllidas demanded independence for the Asiatic Greeks, Tissaphernes that the Lacedæmonians should withdraw their army from the king's territories, and their harmosts from the towns. Neither had power to accede to the other's terms ; but it was agreed to conclude an armistice, until answers should be brought from Sparta and from the Persian court.

The year 399 in which Dercyllidas took the command in Asia, was the last of a war in which Sparta was engaged during three years at home. While the fate of Asia was suspended on the event of the expedition of Cyrus, the Spartans had determined to revenge themselves for the affronts which they had suffered from Elis during the struggle with Athens, and at the same time to apply their leading maxim of dividing and weakening the Peloponnesian states. According to Diodorus they demanded a contribution from the Eleans to the expenses of the Peloponnesian war. But Xenophon represents them as coming at once to the point, and requiring Elis to acknowledge the independence of her subject towns.

The demand was rejected, with the observation that Elis claimed the towns by the right of conquest ; and Agis was immediately ordered to invade the Elean territory. But an earthquake, which was felt soon after he had crossed the border, induced him to withdraw and disband his forces. The incident, and the respite, encouraged the Eleans to try if they could rouse some of their neighbours, whom they knew to be ill affected towards Sparta, into active hostility ; but the Spartan power seems to have been too generally dreaded to afford any reasonable prospect of forming a coalition against it. In the following year Agis again put himself at the head of an army, to which all the allies of Sparta, except the Bœotians and Corinthians, furnished their contingents : Athens among the rest obeyed the call of the ruling state. This time he first directed his march to Triphylia, and he had no sooner crossed the Messenian borders than three of the Triphylian towns, Lepreum, Macistus, and Epitalium, revolted from Elis, and on the other side of the Alpheus he received the submission of three of the towns of Pisatis. He then proceeded to Olympia, where on a former occasion he had been prevented by the Eleans from celebrating a sacrifice which some oracle had enjoined, on the pretence that prayers could not be duly offered there for victory in a war between Greeks. He now performed the rite without interruption, and afterwards advanced toward the enemy's capital, ravaging the fertile country through which he passed, and carrying away vast herds of cattle — still as in ancient times the principal wealth of the Eleans — and a multitude of slaves. The scent of this rich booty attracted a number of volunteers from Arcadia and Achaia to his standard ; and the campaign, Xenophon remarks, spread abundance over the rest of Peloponnesus. Agis continued his devastations as far as the outskirts of the capital, which were adorned with many fine buildings, and these he did not spare. But he abstained from attacking the city, though it was believed that, being unfortified, it could not have opposed an

effectual resistance.¹ He probably calculated on an easier conquest, with the aid of one of the factions between which Elis was at this time divided, and therefore turned away again, and prosecuted his ravages along the plain as far as the coast.

In the meanwhile the oligarchical party, headed by Xenias, a man celebrated for his extraordinary wealth, and attached to Agis and to Sparta by ties of private and public hospitality, made a vigorous effort to overpower their adversaries, and to reduce their country under subjection to Sparta. They rushed out armed into the streets, and began to massacre all of the opposite side who fell in their way; and having killed a person whom they mistook for the democratical leader Thrasydæus, they thought their triumph secure. The report spread, and, while it struck his partisans with consternation, swelled the numbers of the insurgents. But the truth was soon discovered, and Thrasydæus, who had been overtaken by sleep after a banquet, putting himself at the head of the commonalty, gained a complete victory over their opponents, who were forced to take refuge in the enemy's camp. Agis however did not think proper to make any attempt upon the city, but retreated across the Alpheus with his booty, and having left a garrison, under Lysippus a Spartan har-mot, with the Elean refugees, in Epitalium, which lay near the river, disbanded his forces, and returned home. During the remainder of the year the Elean territory was exposed to incessant inroads from the garrison of Epitalium, which were found so distressing, that in the next summer Thrasydæus was fain to sue for peace. He obtained it only on condition that the Eleans should demolish some fortifications which seem to have been built for the defence of the city after the last invasion²,

¹ According to Diodorus xiv. 17., who names Pausanias as the commander in this campaign, the suburbs were guarded by a body of Ætoli-ans, who drove back the invading army; but this is clearly at variance with Xenophon's narrative, no less than the statement that Pausanias, after having fortified some posts in the Elean territory, wintered with his army at Dyme in Achaia.

² Xen. Hell. iii. 2. 30. τὸ τεῖχος περιελαῖν. Yet the city is said to have

and should renounce their sovereignty over almost all their subject towns.¹ They were not even allowed to retain Epeum, though they pleaded that it had come into their possession by a fair purchase: the Spartans alledged that they had dictated the terms of the bargain to the weaker party. The presidency of the temple at Olympia, and of the games, was not taken from them, only because the rustic population of Pisatis, on which it would by right have devolved, was deemed incapable of so august and important a charge. Elis, thus shorn of her power, was admitted among the dependent allies of Sparta.

Not long after the war with Elis was brought to a close, Agis, as he was returning from Delphi, where he had been consecrating a tenth of the spoil, fell sick at Heræa in Arcadia, but was carried to Sparta and died there in the course of a few days. When the solemn mourning was ended, a question arose as to the succession. The throne was claimed according to the law of descent by Leotychides, who had hitherto passed for the only son of the deceased king. But Agis at the birth of the prince had publicly declared that he did not believe him to be his child, and though he owned him on his deathbed, this tardy recognition did not stifle the suspicion before excited, as well by his own language,

been the year before ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, which has therefore been interpreted to mean *ill fortified*. On the other hand Schneider supposes that τῆς πόλεως ought to be written as a proper name, and that it means the castle called τὸ Τῆχος, which stood near Araxus on the Achaean side of the border. But this place appears from Polybius iv. 59. to have belonged from time immemorial to the Achæans; and if the Eleans had wrested it from them, they would probably have been compelled not to destroy but to restore it. Pausanias iii. 8. 5. likewise mentions the demolition of the city wall as one of the conditions of peace.

¹ Pausanias iii. 8. 5. makes no exception: μὴτι τῶν τριποικίων ἱστὶ ἀρχαῖα. This would indeed be very wide of the truth, if they retained all their subject towns except those mentioned by Xenophon iii. 2. 30., who says that they gave up Cyllene and the Triphylian cities, Phrixa, and Epitahum, and Letrina, and Amphidoli, and Margana; and moreover Acrotri and Lasion, and even Epeum. But it seems clear that there is some mistake about this enumeration. It is impossible to suppose that they were allowed to retain Lepreum and Macistus. And, as Mueller observes (Orchom. p. 362.) the three towns north of the Alpheus were not commonly considered as belonging to Triphylia; nor was Epitahum usually numbered among the Triphylian towns. Perhaps Phrixa was sometimes omitted, and a πρὶ has dropt out before its name in Xenophon's list.

as by the prevailing report of his queen's infidelity. The title of Leotychides was now disputed on this ground by Agesilaus, the younger son of Archidamus, and half brother of Agis, who was next in succession to the throne. He had already shown indications of the great qualities which he afterwards displayed; had passed through all the steps of the Spartan training with exemplary propriety, and had won the general favour of his fellow-citizens. Perhaps the prospect of the elevation to which he aspired had urged him the more assiduously to cultivate their goodwill, on which he was conscious his success would mainly depend. But he had been especially fortunate in contracting an early intimacy with Lysander, who warmly espoused his cause. Evidence was offered which confirmed the first declaration of Agis as to Leotychides, whose partisans seem to have been reduced to the necessity of seeking for some flaw in his competitor's better title. The aid of religion was called in for this purpose; and Diopithes, a man of eminent learning in the science of divination, cited an oracle which warned Sparta against *a halting royalty*. This he applied to Agesilaus, who was lame in one foot. But Lysander ingeniously turned it against Leotychides, remarking, that the defect which they were cautioned against, lay not in the person but in the blood of their kings, who must be all genuine descendants of Hercules. This reasoning or authority prevailed, and Agesilaus was raised to the throne.

A year had not elapsed from his accession, when a conspiracy was detected at Sparta, which brought the state to the verge of a bloody revolution, and though crushed in the shell, gave an alarming indication of the unsoundness of the whole political system. To explain its origin we must take a view of some changes which had crept into the Spartan constitution after the conquest of Messenia. We have already seen reason to believe that one effect of the long and perilous struggle with Messenia was a communication of a limited franchise to a numerous body of new citizens; and we were

disposed to conjecture that this event was closely connected with the great enlargement of the authority of the ephors, which appears to have taken place in the same period.¹ They rose, as we conceived, to a new stage of power, chiefly as representatives of the whole commonalty, which included both the new and the old citizens. But before the epoch at which we have now arrived, both the internal condition of the commonalty, and the position of the ephors with regard to it, underwent several important changes. It is possible that the distinction between the two classes of citizens, which, as appears from the legends concerning the founding of Tarentum, and from other evidence, excited much discontent at the time it was introduced, may have been removed in a subsequent generation. But other causes afterwards produced similar effects. The earthquake which gave occasion to the third Messenian war appears to have inflicted a wound on the population of Sparta from which it never recovered. Its numbers were continually reduced by the struggles of the ensuing period, and the deep impression made at Sparta by the events of Sphacteria proves how much the value of a Spartan life had then risen. It was not however by war only that this part of the population had been thinned. During the same period the growing inequality of private fortunes was contributing to the same effect. The highest political privileges belonged only to those citizens whose means permitted them to associate at the public tables.² All who were unable to defray this expense, were it seems by the very fact, and without any fault but their indigence, degraded into a lower class, from the rank of Peers to that of Inferiors, or Commoners. But while some sank into this lower sphere through a blameless poverty, others rose into it from a humbler station by their merits. The services of the helots and the provincials were frequently rewarded with

¹ Vol. I. p. 356.

² Aristot. Pol. ii. 6. p. 59. Goettl. ὅρος τῆς πολιτείας οὗτος ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πῦρρος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο το τεῖλος φέρειν μὴ μετεῖχειν αὐτοῖς.

emancipation and a share of the franchise, so qualified as to keep them below the ancient citizens, and, it would appear, still separate from one another, as they were distinguished by peculiar titles. Another addition to this inferior body was made through marriages contracted by Spartan freemen with women of inferior condition. Gylippus, Callicratidas and Lysander were probably among the offspring of such marriages, and notwithstanding the high military stations which they filled, were never accounted equal in civil rank to their fathers. They were perhaps originally in legal estimation on a level with the favoured helot children, who were often reared in their master's family together with his sons, under the appellation of Mothones or Mothaces; and they are therefore described in loose language as belonging to that class.

In proportion as the numbers of the ancient freemen decreased the dignity and advantages of their position were augmented, and they were consequently more and more unwilling to share them with others. They had cause to fear, not only the loss of their power and political privileges, but also the introduction of an agrarian law to restore the equality of property which Lycurgus was believed to have established; on the other hand the inferior citizens, without any view to these objects, when they considered their numbers and the merit and services of many among them, could not be satisfied with a condition which in such a community as Sparta, where honour was accounted the highest good, exposed them to continual humiliation. This feeling was perhaps rather irritated than soothed by the high employments to which those whose talents and character fitted them for such promotion were frequently advanced. The distinction itself was galling, even where it involved no injurious consequences; and it was the more keenly felt the more clearly it was seen not to correspond to any real difference in worth or desert.

Under these circumstances it becomes interesting to

inquire by what means the higher class, notwithstanding its inferiority in physical force, and the universal discontent which prevailed among its subjects, still maintained its ground. Some weight must undoubtedly be attributed to the general reverence for the ancient institutions, which continued to guard them, even after they had degenerated, and no longer answered the end for which they were designed. But there were safeguards of another kind which perhaps contributed still more to secure their stability. The great variety of conditions and interests which distinguished the inferior classes from each other, served as a barrier to prevent their union, and to shelter the higher class from the danger which it would have had to apprehend, if they could have been brought to act in concert with each other. Not only were the helots and the provincials thus disunited, but it is probable there was a like want of unanimity among the lower orders of the freemen themselves. And there may be ground to suspect that it was a leading object of state policy, to nourish their mutual jealousy, and that the names and other distinctions by which they were kept apart, were contrived for this end. They had no common organ, nor any legitimate opportunities of united action. For the assembly in which they met as one commonalty was so much under the controul of the presiding magistrates, as to be scarcely a deliberative body. — On the other hand the main strength of the government lay in the all-pervading authority of the ephors, which was nearly absolute, and, whatever might be the difference of their views on certain points of foreign and domestic policy, was uniformly exerted to promote the interests of the oligarchy. The advantage derived from the unity of purpose, secrecy of deliberation, and rapidity of action, which resulted from such a concentration of power in a few devoted hands, may be easily conceived, and will be illustrated by the history of the conspiracy which we are about to relate. But it may be useful here to observe, that the more insecure the dominion of

the oligarchy became, the more was the controul of the ephors needed to guard against revolutionary projects of the kings. The kings had perhaps as much reason as any of their subjects to be dissatisfied with the existing state of things. According to the universally received tradition they were much more closely connected by blood with the ancient inhabitants of the country than with the Spartans. They were the natural protectors of the whole people, and had no interests in common with the ruling caste. As their authority had been originally abridged by the encroachments of the ephors, so they were subject to the constant superintendence of the rival magistracy, which not only restricted them in the exercise of all the functions of royalty, but interfered with the most private concerns and relations of their domestic life. This dependence was the more galling from its contrast with their nominal greatness, and they could scarcely fail to perceive, that a change which should deprive the ruling body of its exclusive privileges might operate in their favour, release them from many irksome restraints, and enable them to exchange their empty honours for the real dignity of chiefs of the nation. Such a project had been formed by Pausanias¹: it might again be conceived, and with fairer prospects of success, by a man of enterprising spirit. This seems to have been the true ground of the jealousy with which the kings were certainly viewed by the Peers. But the hereditary rivalry between the two royal families offered one security against their ambition, if directed toward this object; and it was therefore studiously cherished. Another was supplied by the unremitting vigilance of the ephors, kept alert by their zeal for the maintenance and extension of their own authority.

So far all seems sufficiently clear; but there is one interesting point connected with this subject which is involved in great obscurity. The power of the ephors appears indeed to have risen to the height at which we find it in the later times at the expense

¹ See Vol. II. p. 377.

of the royal dignity: but according to the view we have taken of their elevation¹, they were considered as representatives of the whole commonalty, and at least quite as much of the lower as of the higher class. Even however if that view should be wholly rejected, the account which Aristotle gives of the mode of their election would have prepared us to expect that, instead of being uniformly subservient to the will of the privileged class, they would be found as often acting the part of demagogues, and that they would have been disposed rather to take the lead in a revolution, than steadily to uphold the established order of things. Aristotle contrasts the qualifications required for the ephoralty with those required for the senate, and describes the class out of which the ephors were elected in terms which apparently include the whole commonalty, or all who were admissible to the great assembly. He says that they were chosen without any regard to eminent merit, and were often extremely poor, and therefore venal. The difficulty of reconciling these statements with the policy invariably pursued by the ephors, as opponents of all innovations tending to encroach on oligarchical privileges, has induced some writers to interpret Aristotle's words, in a sense which they seem scarcely to bear; so that they may represent the ephors as elected exclusively from the Peers.¹ But there appear to be two ways in which it may be possible to solve the difficulty, without resorting to this expedient. All that we know of the assembly at Sparta is consistent with the supposition, that the ruling Spartans possessed a sufficient influence over the elections to secure a majority at least in the ephoral college, and so long as this could be done, there was a manifest advantage in keeping up the illusion that they were representatives of the commonalty, which, as Aristotle observes², was kept quiet by the share it had — or seemed to have — in the highest office in the state. But it may also be observed that the attractions of the office itself, which grew with

¹ Wachsmuth i. 2. p. 214.

² Pol. ii. 6. 15.

the enlargement of the Spartan power, the plenitude of authority over kings, subjects, and allies, which it conferred, would, with ordinary minds and most of all with persons of the lowest condition, be sufficient pledges for their willingness to maintain its privileges, and consequently the whole system on which they depended, unimpaired. To this it may be added that the ephors in the midst of their high functions were surrounded by watchful eyes, and by hands which would not have remained long inactive, if they had ever been suspected of harbouring designs hostile to the interests of the Peers; and they seem for many purposes to have been subject to the controul of the smaller assembly, which, however it may have been composed, was undoubtedly devoted to those interests with perfect unanimity.

Such seems to have been the internal condition of Sparta at the accession of Agesilaus, and the history of the conspiracy which threatened the constitution in the first year of his reign, though related by an author deeply prejudiced in favour of the prevailing party, throws a strong light on the state of public feeling among the inferior classes, and on the spirit and resources of the government. The first intimation of the danger, according to Xenophon, was given to Agesilaus himself, as he was engaged in a public sacrifice, by the attendant soothsayer, who professed to read evidence of a most formidable plot in the aspect of the victims. He had perhaps received some private information on the subject; and his public warning, by the alarm it occasioned among the conspirators, may have hastened the discovery which followed. Five days after, the whole affair was revealed to the ephors by an accomplice. He charged a young man named Cinadon — a person, Xenophon observes, of high courage, but not one of the Peers — as the author of the conspiracy; and in answer to the questions of the ephors gave the following account of it. Cinadon, he said, having met him one day in the agora, at an hour when it was thronged with people, drew him aside into a corner, and bad him count the

Spartans that were to be seen there. He could observe no more than the official persons who were transacting business there, one of the kings, the senators, ephors, and other magistrates, in all about forty. These, said Cinadon, you have to consider as your enemies; the rest of the multitude assembled here, whose numbers must exceed theirs a hundred fold, are all allied with you against them. Cinadon then bad him notice the passengers in the streets, where he would find a like proportion between the numbers of his enemies and his friends, and reminded him that the case was the same throughout the country, where each Spartan landowner lived surrounded by a host of aliens. He then informed him that a plot had been concerted for the destruction of their oppressors. Only a few trusty persons indeed were in the secret; but they, Cinadon emphatically remarked, were in the secret of the whole subject population of Laconia. For with regard to the Spartans the language of all classes — helots, neodamodes, provincials, citizens of the lower order — wherever they ventured to speak freely, was the same; they did not disguise the bitterness of their hatred, which, according to Cinadon's phrase, was such that they were ready to eat their flesh raw. The conspirators, he said, had regular arms of their own, and as to the multitude, he had shown the informer how they might find weapons, by leading him into the iron market, and pointing out to him, beside knives and swords, a variety of implements of husbandry, and other tools, which might all be applied to that use; and indeed there was scarcely any handicraft which could not arm the workmen with weapons sufficient for the purpose of an insurrection, especially as they should surprise their enemies unarmed. Finally the informer added that a day was fixed for the execution of the plot.

The ephors, convinced of its reality, and of the urgency of the danger, took their measures with the promptitude and secrecy which the occasion required. They did not even convene the smaller assembly, but privately called

the senators together, and deliberated with them on the course to be pursued. The object was both to arrest Cinadon in the quietest manner, and to secure his accomplices. He had often been employed by the ephors in commissions which demanded energy and address. They now sent him to Aulon, on the northern frontier of Messenia, with instructions to apprehend some of the inhabitants, and certain helots, who were described in the scytale. Among the persons to be arrested was a woman of Aulon, of uncommon beauty¹, who, it seems, had been charged with corrupting the Spartan citizens who passed through the town. The more effectually to blind him to the real object of his mission, he was directed to apply to the commander of the royal guard for a small party of soldiers to serve under him, and was told that waggons should be sent for the prisoners. But such instructions were given to his attendants, that on his arrival at Aulon he was taken into custody; and for greater security a troop of horse was sent to support them. He was then put to the torture, and the names of his accomplices, as soon as they were wrung from him, were taken down, and transmitted by express to Sparta. It is remarkable that the list included the soothsayer Tisamenus, a descendant of the Elean of the same name, who had received the Spartan franchise as the price of his services in the Persian war.² Nothing more clearly marks the extent of the danger to which the government was exposed; for the Elean Tisamenus, as Herodotus informs us, had expressly stipulated for the full franchise³; so that his descendant must have enjoyed all the privileges of the highest class of citizens. But possibly they were embittered by the consciousness,

¹ It seems not impossible that this may have been one of the persons mentioned by Theopompus, in a passage of the fifty-sixth book of his Histories cited by Athenæus, xiii. p. 669. b. "Theopompus relates that Xenopitheia, the mother of Lysandridas, excelled all the women of Peloponnesus in beauty. She was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, with her sister Chryse, at the time when king Agésilæus, through his intrigues *κατασπασίαςας*), caused Lysandridas who was his enemy to be banished."

² Vol. II. p. 328.

³ IX. 33. *ὅτι μὴν πολὺν χρόνον τοιγίσινται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντις.*

that the genuine Spartans still looked down upon him as an alien. He and the others were arrested, and then Cinadon himself was brought to Sparta and examined. When he had confessed the whole plot, and confirmed his first information against his accomplices, he was asked what had been his object. "Not to be inferior," was his reply, "to any man in Lacedæmon." It only remained to punish the prisoners; and the government, conscious that it could only maintain itself by terror, determined to make their fate a warning to the disaffected. They were first ignominiously led through the city, and publicly goaded and scourged, and were then put to death. So, Xenophon calmly observes, they met with their deserts. As a warm admirer of the institutions which the conspiracy was designed to overthrow, and as a pensioner of the Spartan government, he could not perhaps make a less severe remark on the defeated party; as a historian, he could scarcely have subjoined a more frivolous and unseasonable reflection on such a train of occurrences.

Not long after this event news was brought to Sparta by a Syracusan named Herodes, who had just returned from Phœnicia, of preparations which he had witnessed in the Phœnician ports for a great armament, which he had learnt was to consist of 300 galleys. He had not been able to ascertain its object, but it had induced him to quicken his departure, that he might bear the tidings to Greece. The Spartan government was alarmed, and called a congress of the allies to deliberate on preventive measures. But to Lysander the intelligence afforded a highly welcome opportunity of resuming his ambitious plans, and recovering his influence among the Asiatic Greeks. He seems however to have been aware that he was himself viewed with jealousy at home, and that a proposal coming directly from himself, and immediately tending to his own aggrandizement, would probably be ill received. He resolved therefore to make use of his friend Agesilaus, to accomplish his purpose, and easily prevailed on him to undertake, with a small force, to

give such employment to the Persian arms in Asia, as would secure Greece from the threatened invasion. Agesilaus, who was in the prime of life, was no less eager to display his military talents in such a brilliant field, than Lysander to renew his intrigues, and to replace his creatures in the posts from which they had been dislodged. He therefore offered to take the command of an expedition to Asia, for which he required no more than 2000 neodamode troops, and 6000 of the allies, and desired to be accompanied by a council of thirty Spartans — which he probably knew would according to usage be forced upon him — and by Lysander among them. His offer was accepted, and all his requests granted, with the addition of six months' pay for the army. Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, were called upon to contribute their forces, but they all refused.¹ The Corinthians pleaded the damage which had lately befallen one of their temples through the effects of an earthquake, as an omen which deterred them from taking part in the war.² The Athenians alledged their weakness as an excuse.³ The Thebans, though they were solicited by Aristomenidas, the grandfather of Agesilaus, who having been one of the five judges who passed sentence on the Plataeans was considered as their benefactor, seem not to have condescended to cover their refusal with any pretext. In the spring of 397, having fixed the contingents of the other allies, and appointed the place of rendezvous for their troops, and having celebrated the usual sacrifices for a foreign expedition, he set sail for Aulis in Bœotia.

It was the first time since the expedition of Menelaus that a king of Sparta had undertaken to invade Asia; and Agesilaus, partly perhaps for the sake of the omen, and partly for the sake of his own renown, was willing to associate his enterprise with the recollection of that heroic

¹ Paus. iii. 9. 2.

² Pausanias represents them as refusing with great reluctance: but the sequel of the history renders this very doubtful.

³ Pausanias says that they pleaded the Peloponnesian war and the pestilence (?), but that their real motive was the intelligence they had received of Conon's journey to the Persian court.

adventure. He therefore stopt at Aulis, to sacrifice there after the example of Agamemnon. But before he had completed the rite, the Bœotarchs sent a party of horse to enjoin him to desist, and the men did not merely deliver the message, but scattered the parts of the victim which they found on the altar. Plutarch, who seems willing to extenuate the insult which his countrymen offered to his hero, represents Agesilaus as having infringed the established usage, by employing a soothsayer of his own on this occasion, instead of the Bœotian to whom the superintendence of the ceremony properly belonged. But Xenophon leaves us to conclude, that the interruption was a simple indication of the hostile spirit with which the expedition was viewed by the Bœotian government; and if Agesilaus saw it in this light, he had reason to dread the omen. He however stifled his resentment, and embarked again for Geræstus, where he found the bulk of his armament assembled, and sailed with it to Ephesus.

Soon after his arrival he received a message from Tissaphernes, calling on him to explain the design of his coming. Agesilaus replied, that his object was to restore the Asiatic Greeks to the independence which their brethren enjoyed on the other side of the Ægean. The satrap on this proposed a truce until the king's pleasure could be taken on this demand; he engaged himself to support it with all the credit he possessed, and professed to believe that the court would comply with it. Agesilaus consented to the proposal, only requiring security for the observance of the engagement, and even this security was no more than the oath of Tissaphernes, which he pledged with due solemnity to Dercyllidas, and two other Spartan commissioners, who were sent to ratify the convention. Nothing however was farther from the mind of either party than the thought of peace. Tissaphernes, as soon as he had taken the oath, sent to the king for a reinforcement to enable him to take the field; and Agesilaus, who was well aware of his intentions, and probably would not other-

wise have granted the truce, though he observed it with strict fidelity, undoubtedly did not suffer the time to be lost with regard to the progress of his own preparations.

During this interval a breach, which the characters and views of the two men rendered almost inevitable, rose between him and Lysander. The rumour of the expedition, and of the part which Lysander was to take in it, seems to have rekindled the flames of discord in the Asiatic cities, which after the expulsion of his creatures had for a time been kept tranquil by the wise forbearance of the ephors and the prudent administration of Dercyllidas. When he came to Ephesus, his door was immediately besieged by a crowd of petitioners, who desired a licence to oppress their countrymen under his patronage. After the victory of *Ægos-potami* Lysander, as the man who for the time wielded the irresistible power of Sparta, had been courted with extravagant servility by the Asiatic Greeks. They did not content themselves with the ordinary honours of golden crowns and statues, but raised altars and offered sacrifices, and sang pæans, and consecrated festivals to him as a god¹: the first example of that grossest kind of adulation, which afterwards became common among the Greeks, and was reduced to a system by the Romans. When he now appeared again in Asia, though in the train of a Spartan king, it was still supposed that the substance of power resided with him, and that he would direct the exercise of the royal authority, as he thought fit. He did not discountenance this persuasion, for he shared it himself. He had calculated on the subserviency of Agesilaus, whom he considered as mainly indebted to his friendship, first for the throne, and then — an obligation little inferior — for the command in Asia. But his colleagues, the rest of the Thirty, felt that the homage paid to him by the allies was derogatory, not only to the royal dignity, but to their own; and they complained to Agesilaus of his presumption. The king himself had been

¹ Plut. Lys. 18.

hurt by it, and resolved to check it, not by a friendly remonstrance, but in a way the most grating to Lysander's feelings. He rejected all applications which were made to him in reliance on Lysander's interest ; and his purpose at length became so evident, that Lysander was obliged to inform his clients, that his intercession, instead of furthering, would only obstruct their suits. He had however sufficient self-command to stifle or disguise his resentment ; and, after a very mild expostulation with Agesilaus on the harshness of his conduct, requested to be removed from the scene of his humiliation to some other place, where he might still be employed in the public service. The king very willingly complied, and sent him to the Hellespont, where not long after he achieved an acquisition of some moment to the Spartan arms. He prevailed on a Persian of high rank, named Spithridates, who had been offended by Pharnabazus, to revolt, and come with his family, his treasures, and 200 horse, to Cyzicus, and thence sailed with him and his son to Ephesus, and presented them to Agesilaus, who received them with great pleasure, and took this opportunity of gaining information about the state of Pharnabazus. This incident produced an apparent reconciliation between him and Lysander ; but we shall see reason to suspect that on one side, at least, it was not sincere.

Tissaphernes had no sooner received such an addition to his forces, as appeared to him sufficient to overpower Agesilaus, than he threw aside the mask, and sent a message to the Spartan king, bidding him immediately quit Asia, or prepare for war. The council and the allies were somewhat daunted by his arrogant tone, and apparent strength ; but Agesilaus, who had expected this result, and desired no other, told the envoys to carry back his thanks to their master, for the advantage he had given the Greeks by his perjury. He then ordered his troops to put themselves in readiness for a long march ; sent word to the towns which lay on the road to Caria to lay in provisions for the use of his army ; and called

on the cities of Ionia, Æolis, and the Hellespont, for their contingents. Tissaphernes thought he had the more reason to fear that the threat implied in these preparations would be verified, as Caria, beside that it contained the principal source of his private revenues, was a country ill suited for the operations of cavalry, in which his own strength lay, and Agesilaus' was extremely deficient.¹ He therefore concentrated all his forces there, and occupied the vale of the Mæander with his cavalry, to prevent the enemy reaching the passes which led into the heart of the province. Agesilaus had reckoned upon this effect of the satrap's selfish fears, and, instead of seeking him in Caria, marched in the opposite direction toward the residence of Pharnabazus. As this invasion was quite unexpected, he found the towns on his road unprepared for resistance, and collected an immense booty. He penetrated nearly to Dascylium without encountering an enemy. But in that neighbourhood he fell in with a body of Persian horse, and, by the issue of a skirmish which ensued, was made to feel its superiority in equipments and training over his own. The next day when he sacrificed, observes Xenophon — as if he was relating a providential warning, not a human contrivance — the victims were found imperfect; and Agesilaus advanced no further, but retreated towards Ephesus. There he spent the winter in preparations for the next campaign, and more particularly applied himself to the raising of a body of cavalry, which he perceived would be indispensable to the success and the safety of his future operations. For this purpose he made a list of the most opulent men in the Greek cities, and compelled each of them, as the condition of his exemption from personal service, to furnish a trooper. In the spring he collected his forces at Ephesus, and put them into an active course of training, rousing their emulation by the prizes which he proposed for the most gallant show, and the highest degree of expertness, in every department of

¹ Xenophon says, ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν. But immediately after (iii. 4. 13.) we find that he had some.

the service. Xenophon, as an old soldier, is delighted with the recollection of the military bustle which prevailed during this season at Ephesus; where the wrestling schools and the hippodrome were constantly enlivened by the exercises of the men, the market was abundantly supplied with horses, and arms of every kind, and all the trades subservient to war were kept in full employment. Among other devices for raising the spirits of his troops, Agesilaus borrowed a hint, it would seem, from one of Cimon's stratagems¹, and ordered his Persian prisoners to be exposed to sale naked, that the Greeks might contrast the delicacy of their persons with the robustness of frames hardened by the exercises of the palaestra.

Before he took the field again, a year having now elapsed from the commencement of his expedition, Lysander and his colleagues were superseded by a new body of councillors, and returned home. Hierippidas seems to have been considered the chief of the new council, as Lysander had been of the last, and was appointed by Agesilaus to the command of the Cyreans: and some of his colleagues were placed at the head of the principal divisions of the army. Agesilaus then gave public notice, that he meant to take the shortest road into the richest part of the enemy's country. The notice was designed not more for the preparation of his own troops, than for Tissaphernes, who concluded that if this had been the intention of Agesilaus, he would not have disclosed it, and that now Caria was certainly his real mark. He therefore repeated the dispositions of the preceding summer. But while he waited for the enemy with his cavalry in the vale of the Mæander, Agesilaus directed his march towards the plains of Sardis, the richest of western Asia. During three days he traversed them without seeing an enemy; but on the fourth the Persian cavalry, which Tissaphernes seems to have sent forward as soon as he heard of the movements of Agesilaus, suddenly came up, and cut off many of the followers of the camp, as they were ranging over the country in quest of

¹ Plut. Cim. 9.

plunder. According to Xenophon, an engagement immediately ensued, in which the Persian horse, notwithstanding their great superiority in numbers — Diodorus makes them amount to 10,000 — were defeated by the Greeks, who were supported by their infantry. The victors followed up their advantage, and made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, where they found a booty which yielded upwards of seventy talents. Some of the camels taken on this occasion were reserved by Agesilaus to be carried, as a rarity, to Greece.

Tissaphernes had already arrived at Sardis ; and his countrymen, many of whom had probably suffered considerable loss from the invasion, bitterly censured him for leaving them unprotected, and even it seems charged him with treachery, though none of them could have lost more by it than himself, if, as Diodorus relates, a magnificent park and pleasure-grounds, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Sardis, were spoiled by the invaders. Still his conduct afforded some pretext for such an accusation ; and the complaints it excited were carried up to the court, where he had one implacable and powerful enemy in the fiendish Parysatis, who thirsted to revenge herself on him for his enmity to her favourite son. She had already found that Artaxerxes was weak enough to sacrifice his most faithful servants to her resentment, even when he knew that it was inflamed by the very services which they had rendered to himself ; and according to the most probable account, it was in compliance with her request that he now ordered Tissaphernes to be put to death.¹ He consented perhaps with the less reluctance, not only because he was persuaded that it was a just punishment, but because he had been led to believe that Tissaphernes was the main obstacle in the way of peace, and that his death would free his dominions from the presence of a formidable enemy. The execution of the sentence was committed to Tithraustes, who

¹ Diodorus, xiv. 80. Polyænus, vii. 16. 1. According to Xenophon (see above p. 319.) he had provoked her resentment by a wanton insult.

was appointed to succeed Tissaphernes in his satrapy, and was instructed to open a negotiation with Agesilaus. Accordingly, after executing the first part of his commission, which he did in the Turkish style by the hands of an underling, who surprised Tissaphernes in his bath¹, Tithraustes sent envoys to treat with the Spartan king. He affected to consider Tissaphernes as the author of the quarrel between his master and the Greeks, and, as if the end of their expedition was now answered by their enemy's death, proposed that Agesilaus should return home. As to the Asiatic Greeks, Artaxerxes was willing to acknowledge their independence, on condition that they would pay their ancient tribute. Agesilaus replied, that he had no authority to conclude peace without the sanction of the government at home: but he would transmit the Persian overtures to Sparta. In the meanwhile Tithraustes was very anxious that hostilities should be suspended in his province, and, pleading his own merits in the execution of Tissaphernes, begged Agesilaus, while he waited for an answer to the terms proposed, to turn his arms against the satrapy of Pharnabazus. To this Agesilaus consented, on condition that Tithraustes would defray the expence of the march; and he received thirty talents on that score. This was a step beyond former precedents: for even Tissaphernes, though he had not scrupled to conclude a separate truce, had not paid the enemy a subsidy for invading another part of his master's dominions.

On his march toward the territories of Pharnabazus, Agesilaus received a flattering testimony of the approbation with which his proceedings were viewed at Sparta, and of the disposition which prevailed there to support him in the prosecution of the war. By a despatch which reached him as he lay near Cuma, he learnt that he had been invested with the administra-

¹ Diodorus, u. s. συνέλαβε Τισσαφέρνην διὰ τινος Λακισσαίου σατραπῆτος λαοῦμένου. Polyænus, vii. 16. l., calls him Ariæus; but the words of Diodorus seem hardly to admit of Palmer's correction *Λακισίου* for *Λακισσαίου*, and perhaps do not require any, unless this is the Ariæus of the *Anabasis* and the *Hellenics*, iv. 1. 27.

tion of naval affairs, that he was empowered to appoint whom he would to the office of Admiral, and still to regulate the operations of the fleet at his discretion. Thus to unite the supreme command of the army and of the navy in one person, was an unexampled mark of confidence, and a striking indication of the new energy which ambition had infused into the Spartan counsels. Agesilaus immediately took measures for raising a fleet; and by a judicious distribution of the burden among the maritime allies, and his influence with wealthy individuals, collected 120 new galleys. But he was less prudent and fortunate in the choice of an Admiral, and instead of seeking the highest qualifications, consulted his private affection in the appointment of his wife's brother Pisander. When this business was despatched, he continued his march to the satrapy of Pharnabazus.

These preparations, combined perhaps with other tokens, convinced Tithraustes that Agesilaus had no intention of withdrawing from Asia, but was inclined rather to extend than contract his views, and cherished strong hopes of effecting the conquest of the empire. He perceived that he had only purchased a temporary relief, and bethought himself how he might employ the gold, which was his last remaining stay, to greater advantage. The history of the contest between Greece and Persia afforded several instructive lessons, which were now peculiarly applicable. At the time when the first Artaxerxes was embarrassed by the success of the Athenians in Egypt, he sent an agent, as we have seen¹, with bribes to Sparta, to procure a diversion in his favour. Tithraustes now resorted to a similar expedient. He sent a Rhodian named Timocrates to Greece, with a sum of fifty talents, which he was charged to distribute, with proper precautions, among the leading persons in the states which might be most easily induced to interrupt the progress of Agesilaus by kindling a war against Sparta at home. Not only was

¹ Vol. III. p. 27.

this mission itself a notorious and unquestionable fact ; but Xenophon professes an equal degree of certainty as to the names of the persons who received the money. It was in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, that Timocrates is said to have executed his commission. At Thebes he purchased the services of Androclidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus ; at Corinth those of Timolaus and Poly-anthes ; at Argos those of Cyclon and his friends. Unless we suppose Xenophon to have placed too much reliance on a mere party rumour, it may perhaps be inferred from the notoriety of the transaction that the persons he mentions made no secret of their share in it, and considered the Persian gold as a subsidy granted for the support of a just and patriotic cause. We may at least venture to believe that, though it may have roused them to greater activity, it produced no change in their political sentiments : and we even doubt whether it gave rise to any events which would not have occurred nearly as soon without it. It was indeed natural enough for Agesilaus and his friends to attribute the disappointment of his hopes to the venality of their adversaries. But Xenophon himself observes that the Athenians, though they did not receive any share of the gold, were eager for war in the hope of recovering their independence. And it is clear from his own narrative that similar feelings of jealousy or resentment toward Sparta already prevailed at Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, and were only waiting for an opportunity of displaying themselves in open hostility, but needed no corrupt influence to excite them.

The anti-Laconian party at Thebes — the same no doubt which had sheltered the Athenian exiles, and had contrived the affront offered to Agesilaus at Aulis, and which had therefore reason to dread his resentment if he should ever return to Europe as the conqueror of Asia — set the first springs of hostility in motion. The disposition to war they found already existing ; a pretext only was wanting, and this they easily devised. Means were found to induce the Locrians of Opus to

make an inroad upon a tract of land which had been long the subject of contention between them and their neighbours the Phocians. The Phocians retaliated by the invasion of the Opuntian Locris, and the Thebans were soon persuaded to take part with the Locrians, and invade Phocis. The Phocians, as was foreseen, applied for succour to Sparta, where, as Xenophon admits, there was the utmost readiness to lay hold on any pretence for a war with Thebes ; and the present season of prosperity seemed to the Spartan government the most favourable for humbling a power which had given so many proofs of ill-will toward it. War therefore was decreed, and Lysander was sent into Phocis with instructions to collect all the forces he could raise there, and among the tribes seated about Mount Cæta, and to march with them to Haliartus in Bœotia, where Pausanias, with the Peloponnesian troops, was to join him on an appointed day. Lysander discharged his commission with his usual activity, and beside succeeded in inducing Orchomenus, which was subject to Thebes, to assert its independence. Pausanias, having crossed the Laconian border, waited at Tegea for the contingents which he had demanded from the allies. They seem to have come in slowly, and Corinth refused to take any part in the expedition. The Thebans, seeing themselves threatened with invasion, sent an embassy to prevail on the Athenians to make common cause with them against Sparta. There were many feelings to be overcome at Athens, before this resolution could be adopted : recollections of a long hereditary grudge, of the animosity displayed by Thebes during the last war, and especially at its close ; the sense of weakness, and the dread of provoking a power, by which Athens had so lately been brought to the brink of destruction. The Theban orator thought it necessary in the name of his countrymen to disavow the vote which Eriantes had given in the congress, which decided the fate of the Athenians, as the unauthorised proposition of a private individual. On the other hand, he urged the important

service which the Thebans had more recently rendered to Athens in her greatest need, and by which they had incurred the resentment of Sparta, and were now driven to seek protection from Athenian generosity. They had shown themselves the real friends of both the Athenian parties ; while the Spartans had as little claim to the gratitude of that which they had abandoned to its magnanimous adversaries, as to the good-will of that which they had helped to oppress. But it was chiefly to the hopes and fears of his hearers that the speaker addressed himself. The Athenians desired to recover their pre-eminence in Greece, and their readiest way to that end was to declare themselves the protectors of all who suffered under Spartan tyranny. If they were inclined to dread the enemy's power, they had only to reflect by what means their own had been overthrown. Sparta likewise now ruled over unwilling subjects, and offended allies, who only wanted a leader to encourage them to revolt from her. Indeed she had not one sincere friend left. Argos had always been hostile ; Elis had just been deeply wronged. Corinth, Arcadia, and Achaia saw the services which they had rendered in the war requited with insolent ingratitude, and were subject to the controul of harmosts, who were not even citizens of Sparta, but helots ; bondmen at home, masters abroad. The cities once subject to Athens, which had been tempted to revolt by the prospect of liberty, found themselves cheated of their hopes, and groaned under the double yoke of a foreign governor, and a domestic oligarchy. The Persian king, to whom Sparta mainly owed her victory, she had immediately afterwards treated as an enemy. Athens might now place herself at the head of a confederacy much more powerful than the empire which she had lost ; and the Spartan dominion would be more easily overthrown than the Athenian had been, in proportion as the allies of Sparta were stronger than the subjects of Athens.

These arguments found a willing audience ; they were seconded by many voices, and the assembly was

unanimous in favour of the alliance with Thebes. Thrasybulus, who moved the decree, reminded the Thebans that Athens was about to repay the obligation which they had laid on her when they refused to concur in rivetting her chains, by active exertions, and at a great risk. For she would have to face the enmity of Sparta, while Piræus remained still unfortified. Both states prepared for war. Pausanias found an account, that the Athenians sent envoys to Sparta, with a request that she would abstain from hostilities against Thebes, and would submit their differences to arbitration; he adds that the embassy was indignantly dismissed¹; it can scarcely have been sent with any other view than to gain time.

Lysander, having collected all the forces he could raise in the north, marched to Haliartus; but he found that Pausanias had not yet arrived there. It was not in his character to remain any where inactive, and he was desirous of making himself master of the town. He first tried negotiation to engage it to revolt. But there were some Theban and Athenian troops in the place, whose presence overawed the disaffected; and he then resolved to venture on an assault. In the meanwhile his movements were known at Thebes, according to Plutarch by means of an intercepted letter, which he had addressed to Pausanias, who was at this time at Platæa. Plutarch also relates, that an Athenian army had already reached Thebes, and that it was entrusted by the Thebans with the guard of the city, while they marched to Haliartus, where they arrived before Lysander, introduced a small detachment into the town, and encamped the rest without. But Xenophon represents the Theban forces as arriving after Lysander, though he owns that he could not ascertain whether they fell upon him by surprise, or he was aware of their approach: it was only certain that a battle took place close to the walls, in which Lysander was slain. It seems clear however, from a comparison of all

¹ III. 2. 11.

accounts, that he was intercepted between the main body of the Thebans and the garrison, which made a sally ; and he was known to have fallen by the hand of a citizen of Haliartus. His troops were put to flight, and betook themselves to the hills — a branch of the range of Helicon — which rose at no great distance behind the town. The conquerors pursued with great vigour, and incautiously pressed forward up the rising ground, until the difficulties of the ground brought them to a stand, and the fugitives, perceiving their perplexity, turned upon them, assailed them with a shower of missiles, rolled down masses of rock on their heads, and finally drove them in disorder, with the loss of more than 200 men, into the plain. The dejection caused by this disaster was relieved the next day by the discovery that the remains of Lysander's army had dispersed during the night. But the exultation of the Thebans at this fruit of their victory was damped in the course of a few hours by the appearance of Pausanias, who had received the news of the battle on the road from Platæa to Thespiæ, and had hastened his march to Haliartus. Yet, according to Diodorus, he brought with him no more than 6000 men ; but so small a force could scarcely have produced the alarm described by Xenophon, who, with a slight touch of humour, exhibits the Theban camp as fluctuating between the extremes of presumption and despondency. For the next day their spirits were again raised by the arrival of Thrasybulus and an Athenian army ; and their confidence was heightened when they perceived that Pausanias showed no disposition to seek an engagement. His situation was extremely embarrassing. According to Greek usage it was absolutely necessary for him to recover the bodies of the slain, who are said to have amounted to a thousand, either by force or by consent of the victors. The greater part lay so near to the town walls that the attempt to carry them away by force would be one of great difficulty and danger, even if he should gain a victory ; and the enemy was so

strong in cavalry, that the event of a battle would be very uncertain, especially as his own troops had engaged in the expedition with reluctance. He therefore held a council of war ; and after mature deliberation the majority came to the decision — if indeed it was not unanimous — to apply for permission to carry away the dead. The Thebans however were not satisfied with this confession of their superiority, and refused to grant a truce, except on condition that the invaders should withdraw from Bœotia. These terms were gladly accepted by Pausanias and his council, though they were felt by the troops as a degradation, such as a Lacedæmonian army had never before experienced. The general dejection and ill-humour which prevailed in the retreat, were heightened by the insulting demeanor of the Thebans, who accompanied them on their march through Bœotia, and drove back all who deviated in the least from the line, with blows, into the road.

The conduct of Pausanias appears to have been in the whole of this affair perfectly blameless. He had failed indeed to reach Haliartus by the preconcerted day, but he arrived the day after ; and when it is considered that he had to collect his army from many quarters, and that the allies were generally averse to the expedition, he may seem rather to have deserved praise, for bringing it up so nearly within the appointed time. The disastrous issue could only be attributed to Lysander's imprudence ; and the decision of the council of war with regard to the recovery of the slain, even if it was not clearly required by the circumstances of the case, could not reasonably be imputed as a crime to Pausanias. Yet on his return to Sparta he was capitally impeached ; and the nature of the charges brought against him showed that he could not expect a fair trial, but was foredoomed to be sacrificed to public prejudice or to private passion ; for the accusation embraced not merely his conduct in his last expedition, but the indulgence which he had granted to the Athenian refugees in Piræus ; though his measures on that occa-

sion seem to have been viewed with general approbation at the time, and had only been proved to be impolitic by the event. But under the irritation produced by the recent shame and disappointment, the Spartan senate was no more capable of listening to reason and justice, than the Athenian assembly on some similar occasions ; and it is probable that Lysander's friends did the utmost to inflame the public feelings against his old adversary. Pausanias did not appear at the trial ; he was condemned to death, and was obliged to seek shelter in the venerated sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, where he ended his days. His son Agesipolis succeeded to the throne.

Lysander left his family in a state of poverty, which proved that his ambition was quite pure from all sordid ingredients. But, if we may believe a story which became current after his death, and is related upon such authority, that we can scarcely suppose it to have been without foundation, he was not satisfied either with fame, or with the substance of power. He is said to have conceived the project of levelling the privileges of the two royal houses, and of making the kingly office elective, and open to all Spartans, no doubt with the hope of obtaining it for himself. But the plan which he is said to have devised to compass this end, notwithstanding the superstition of his countrymen which it was meant to work upon, sounds so marvellous, that we do not venture to give it a place here, but only to mention its leading features in a note.¹ It is only a little less strange, that he should have employed the pen of an Asiatic rhetorician — one Cleon of Halicarnassus — to compose an oration, which he once meant to deliver, in recommendation of the measure, — as if it was one that could ever have been carried by force of argument. Agesilaus, it is said, having occasion to search Lysander's house, after his death, for some public document, lighted upon Cleon's harangue, and was about to publish it, till he was persuaded by a more

¹ See the Appendix.

discreet friend to suppress so dangerous a piece. This only makes the story the more suspicious. Yet the main fact accords well enough with the enterprising and intriguing character of Lysander ; and his quarrel with Pausanias and Agesilaus may be thought to have suggested such a mode of revenge. We might indeed have been disposed to consider this plan as the beginning of a series of liberal measures for a reformation, which Cinadon's plot proved to be so urgently needed ; if the manner in which he regulated the government of other states did not render it doubtful whether he was capable of such enlarged and enlightened patriotism.

CHAP. XXXVI.

FROM THE DEATH OF LYSANDER TO THE PEACE OF
ANTALCIDAS.

WHILE these movements were taking place in Greece, Agesilaus was carrying on the war in Asia, with an activity and success which might well have alarmed the Persian court, and proved the wisdom of the precautions adopted by Tithraustes. On his march into the province of Pharnabazus, he was accompanied by Spithridates, who urged him to advance into Paphlagonia, and undertook to make Cotys, the king of that country, his ally. Cotys, who is elsewhere named Corylas¹, was one of those powerful hereditary vassals of the Persian king, whose subjection had become merely nominal, and he had lately renounced even the appearance of submission. Artaxerxes, imprudently or insidiously, had put his obedience to the test, by summoning or inviting him to court. But the Paphlagonian prince was too wary, and knew the character of the Persian government too well, to trust himself in its power, and he had openly refused to obey the royal command. It would add nothing to his offence, though something to his security, to treat with the enemies of Artaxerxes. Nothing could be more agreeable to Agesilaus than the opportunity of gaining so powerful an ally; he gladly accepted the mediation of Spithridates, who not only fulfilled his promise, and engaged Cotys to come to the Greek camp, and conclude an alliance with Sparta in person, but prevailed on him, before his departure, to leave a reinforcement of 1000 cavalry, and 2000 targeteers, with the army of Agesilaus.

¹ In the *Anabasis*, vii. 8. 25.

To reward Spithridates for this important service, in a manner which would strengthen the Greek interest in Asia, Agesilaus, with great address, negotiated a match between Cotys and the daughter of Spithridates, so as to lead each party to consider himself as under obligations to the other, and both to look upon him as their benefactor. As the season was too far advanced for a journey by land across the Paphlagonian mountains, the young lady was sent by sea, under the charge of a Spartan officer, to the dominions of her intended consort; and Agesilaus returned to take up his winter quarters in the territories of Pharnabazus, and in the satrap's own residence of Dascylium. Here were parks, chases, and forests abounding in game of every kind, and round about were many large villages plentifully stocked with provisions for the ordinary supply of the princely household. The domain was skirted by the windings of a river, full of various kinds of fish. Here therefore the Greek army passed the winter in ease and plenty, making excursions, as occasion invited, into the surrounding country far and wide, while Pharnabazus was forced to range over it as a houseless fugitive, carrying with him his family and his treasures, for which he could find no place of permanent shelter, and, even in this Syctian mode of life, never free from apprehensions for his personal safety. Sometimes however he hovered in the neighbourhood of the Greeks, and once surprised them in one of their marauding excursions; and though he had with him only two scythe-chariots, and about 400 cavalry, he dispersed a body of 700 Greek horse with his chariots, and drove them, with the loss of 100 men, to seek shelter from their heavy infantry. A few days after this skirmish Spithridates learnt that the satrap was encamped in the village of Cava, about twenty miles off, and communicated the discovery to Herippias. Herippidas, who loved a brilliant enterprise, was immediately fired with the hope of making himself master of the satrap's camp and person, and requested Agesilaus to grant him, for this purpose, 2000 heavy

infantry, as many targeteers, the Paphlagonian cavalry, and those of Spithridates, and as many of the Greek horse as might be willing to take part in the adventure. He obtained all he asked; but at night, at the hour of departure, he found that not half of his volunteers appeared at the appointed place. Nevertheless, fearing the raillery of his colleagues, if he should desist, he persevered in his undertaking, and after marching all night, arrived at daybreak at the encampment of Pharnabazus. He overpowered a body of Mysians at the outpost; but their resistance afforded time for the escape of Pharnabazus and his family, who however left the camp, with a great treasure of drinking vessels and costly furniture, in the possession of the assailants. But Herippidas, being anxious, for the sake of his own honour, to deliver the whole booty into the hands of the officers who in the Spartan army answered to the Roman quæstors¹, took precautions to exclude his allies from all share in it; and he thus deprived the Spartan arms of an advantage much more important than the value of the spoil. For Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, indignant at this treatment, deserted the camp the next night, and repairing to Sardis entered the service of Ariæus, who had again revolted, and was at war with the king: Agesilaus was more deeply affected by this loss than by any mischance that he met with in the course of his expedition: and he seems to have regretted it still more on private than on public grounds.

Not long after a prospect seemed to be opened to him of gaining a much more valuable ally. A Greek of Cyzicus, who was connected by ties of hospitality with Pharnabazus, and had recently entered into the same relation with Agesilaus, proposed to him to bring about an interview between him and the satrap. The preliminaries were arranged, and a place of meeting appointed in the open air, to which Agesilaus came accompanied by the Thirty, and they seated themselves

¹ Λαφυροτάται.

on the grass to wait for Pharnabazus. He came attended by a train of servants, who, according to the Persian fashion, proceeded to lay down a carpet and cushions for their master. But the intelligent Persian, struck by the contrast of the Spartan simplicity, in a fortune at present so much more prosperous than his own, ordered these instruments of luxury to be removed, and, in his splendid attire, took his seat without ceremony on the green sward by the side of Agesilaus. After the forms of a friendly greeting had been interchanged, Pharnabazus opened the conference with an expostulation on the hard treatment which he had suffered. He reminded his hearers of the zeal and constancy with which he had espoused the cause of Sparta in the war with Athens: that he had spared no expense, and shrunk from no risk, not even from that of his life, in her behalf, and that he had never, in any of their transactions, subjected himself, like Tissaphernes, to the reproach of double-dealing. Nevertheless Spartan hostility had now reduced him to such a condition that even in his own territory he did not know how to find a meal, except such as he could collect, like a dog, from the orts and leavings of their rapine; while his fair patrimonial mansions, his pleasant woods and parks, had been all burnt, and felled, and spoiled. If, he concluded, it was his ignorance that made him unable to reconcile such conduct with the obligations of justice and gratitude, he desired that the Spartans would enlighten him. This address, Xenophon says, struck the Thirty with shame, and it was some time before Agesilaus broke the silence that ensued. Yet the complaint, as Xenophon reports it, falls very far short of the real hardship of the case; for Pharnabazus might have observed, not only that he had not been exempted by his old allies from any of the evils of war, as his former services might have entitled him to expect, but that their hostility had been directed with a special preference against him, and that Agesilaus himself had spared the faithless Tissaphernes, stained as he was with Grecian blood, in order to fall upon the ancient

and tried ally of Sparta. Such a charge Agesilaus might have found it difficult to answer. But for that which Xenophon attributes to Pharnabazus, he had a ready and fair reply. Private friendship must always give way to reasons of state. The Spartans, being at war with the king of Persia, were compelled to treat all his subjects as their enemies ; and Pharnabazus among the rest, however glad they might be to gain him for their friend. And what they had now to propose was not that he should exchange one master for another, but that he should at once become their ally, and independent of every superior. Nor was it a poor or barren independence that they held out to him, but a rich addition to his hereditary possessions, which their aid would enable him to make at the expense of his fellow subjects, who would then be forced to own him as their master. Pharnabazus, in answer to these overtures, said, that he would frankly declare his mind to them. If the king should attempt to place any other general in authority over him, he would renounce his allegiance, and ally himself to Sparta ; but if his master entrusted him with the supreme command in that part of his dominions, he would do his best to defend them. Agesilaus grasped his hand, and assured him of his warmest regard, and, under the excitement of a generous feeling, forgetting the excuse he had just before made for his past conduct, promised to withdraw immediately from his territories, and, though they should continue at war, to abstain from invading them, as long as there was any other quarter in which he could employ his forces.

So the interview ended. It was followed by a little scene which Xenophon seems to have described in order to shew the prepossessing effect produced by the demeanour of Agesilaus on the bystanders. A young son of Pharnabazus, when his father rode away, lingered behind, and running up to Agesilaus, proposed to become his guest. Agesilaus accepted the offer, and the engagement was immediately sealed by an interchange

of presents. The youth gave a javelin of beautiful workmanship, and in return received the rich caparisons of a horse on which one of the king's officers rode. He then set off to overtake his father. The friendship of Agesilaus was afterwards useful to him when he was driven out of his father's dominions by one of his brothers, and was forced to take refuge in Greece.

Agesilaus kept his word, and withdrew his forces from the satrapy of Pharnabazus, where indeed it is probable he would not otherwise have staid much longer, as the spring was coming on, and he was meditating a new expedition, in which he meant to advance as far as he could into the interior. By this movement, if he gained no more decisive advantage, he expected that he should at least separate all the provinces which he left behind him from the Persian empire. With this design he proceeded to the plain of Thebe, where he encamped, and began to collect all the forces he could raise from the allied cities. He was in the midst of these preparations, when he received a message from the ephors, which was brought by a Spartan named Epicydidas, who apprised him of the new turn which affairs had taken in Greece, and summoned him to march with the utmost speed for the defence of his country. Agesilaus received this intelligence with fortitude, though it stopt him at the outset of the most brilliant career that had ever yet been opened by a Greek, and obeyed the command of the ephors with as much promptness, as if he had been present in their council-room at Sparta. But he first called an assembly of the allies, and announced his approaching departure to them; adding however a promise, that he would not forget them, but as soon as he should have despatched the business which called him away, would return to protect them. The assembly received these tidings with marks of deep concern; but unanimously determined to send their forces with him to Greece, that, if affairs there should come to a prosperous issue, they might escort him back to Asia. But it seems that the spirit in which this vote was passed by the assembly,

was not that which prevailed among the troops, who were generally averse to the expedition ; and Agesilaus, having appointed Euxenus, with 4000 men, to guard the Greek cities, thought it necessary to rouse their emulation, and that of the principal officers, by prizes proportioned to the numbers and condition of the forces which should follow him to Greece. The more effectually to secure the result of their competition, he appointed a place on the European side of the Hellespont for the review of the army, and the distribution of the prizes, which consisted of ornamented armour and weapons, and golden crowns, to the value, in the whole, of not less than four talents. A small sum, as Xenophon observes, in comparison with those which the competitors laid out upon their various equipments for the sake of the reward. The prizes were awarded by a tribunal composed of three Spartan judges, and one from each of the allied cities. Agesilaus then set forward on his march, along the road which Xerxes had taken on his expedition to Greece.

But in the meanwhile the Spartan government found itself compelled to take active measures for counteracting the movements of the hostile confederacy. About the same time that Agesilaus received the order which recalled him from Asia, a congress was held at Corinth by the states leagued against Sparta¹, to deliberate on the plan of the next campaign ; and Timolaus, a Corinthian deputy, reminding the assembly, that a stream was weakest near its source, advised that they should carry their arms at once to the border of Laconia, and meet the enemy before he had swelled his forces with the contingents of the tributary cities of Peloponnesus : “ it would be easiest and safest to stifle the hornets in their nest.” This advice was adopted : but its execution was prevented by the causes which usually retard the operations of confederate armies, where there is no supreme authority. While the allies were debating on the mode of sharing the command among them, and on their

¹ Diodor. xiv. 52.

order of battle, the Lacedæmonian army, under Aristodemus, the guardian of the young king Agesipolis, had crossed the frontier, had been strengthened by the forces of Tegea and Mantinea, and reached the territory of Sicyon without opposition. Here indeed it found the defile called Epieicea guarded by a body of light troops, which gave it some annoyance on its passage; but it descended safely into the maritime plain, which it ravaged as it pursued its march eastward, and finally encamped at the distance of little more than a mile from the enemy, who had taken up a position behind the bed of the torrent or rivulet called the Nemea.¹

In numbers the northern allies were considerably superior; for they had brought 24,000 heavy-armed into the field, while on the other side the regular infantry amounted only to 13,500. Their cavalry also was more than twice as numerous as the enemy's. Sparta and Athens, we may observe, contributed each precisely the same number of foot and horse — 6000 infantry, and 600 cavalry. Argos appears as the most powerful, or the most zealous in the anti-Laconian cause: she furnished 7000 heavy infantry, while the Thebans, weakened by the revolt of Orchomenus, sent but 5000, and Corinth no more than 3000. But the want of union, or of an efficient controul, was felt no less in the field than it had been in the council. The Thebans were not so desirous of victory, as they were concerned for their own safety; and to secure this, did not scruple to sacrifice their allies, and to endanger the common cause. Xenophon at least — whose prejudices however render his testimony still more suspicious against them than against his own countrymen — sarcastically charges them with having delayed to engage so long as they occupied the left wing, which faced the Lacedæmonians; and he intimates that they alleged the sinister aspect of the victims as a pretext to cloak their timidity: but when — either by means of some manœuvre or according to an established order — the Athenians succeeded to the

¹ See Leake *Morea*, iii. p. 374.

left wing, and they found themselves in the other, and opposed to the Achæans, then, says the historian, they immediately announced that the sacrifices were propitious, and issued orders to prepare for battle. Yet, even in their dispositions for the action, they neglected the regulations which had been previously adopted by common consent, according to which the line of battle was to have been uniformly sixteen deep, and, adhering to their own practice, gave a much greater depth to their phalanx : probably not less than five and twenty, as at Delium.¹ But, beside thus contracting the length of their line, as they advanced toward the enemy, they leaned more and more to the right ; the constant usage, as we have seen, in the ancient battles², while the Lacedæmonians, with the like object, inclined no less in the opposite direction. The result was that, when the engagement began, the Athenians found four out of their ten divisions, answering to the tribes, in front of the Tegeans, while the remaining six were left to sustain the whole force of the Lacedæmonians. In every other part of the line victory was at first on the side of the northern allies, who broke and pursued the enemy ; but the Lacedæmonians outflanked, and easily overpowered the Athenians opposed to them, who were little more than half as numerous, and, at the expense of a very few lives on their own side, made a great slaughter. Having driven their immediate antagonists off the field with so little effort and loss, they advanced, untired, and in good order, to meet the other divisions of the enemy, as they returned from the pursuit of their defeated opponents ; and falling in with them separately, before they had recovered from their disorder, overcame them, nearly as the surviving Horatius, in the Roman legend, vanquishes the victorious Curiatii. The four Athenian tribes, which had routed the Tegeans, were alone fortunate enough to escape. The fugitives sought shelter in Corinth, but found the gates closed against them through a temporary ascendancy of the Laconian party.³

¹ Vol. III. p. 280.² Vol. III. p. 349.³ Demosthenes *Leptin.* p. 473. speaks of the struggle of the parties, but

They then returned to the position, which they had left in the morning, on the Nemea. This victory cost the Lacedæmonians only eight lives, though their allies lost 1100, the enemy 2800.¹ It seems as if the terror of their name stifled all resistance.

The news of the battle of Corinth reached Agesilaus on his march homeward, at Amphipolis, where he had arrived after having made his way, partly by threats, partly by force, through the Thracian tribes.² Dercyllidas was the bearer; and, at the request of Agesilaus, undertook to convey it to the Greek cities in Asia, with a renewal of the promise which he had made to them at parting, to return as soon as the state of affairs in Greece should permit. Agesilaus then continued his march through Macedonia, where his bold countenance overawed all opposition, as it had done in Thrace. But when he arrived in Thessaly he found the Thessalians, who, as the hereditary enemies of the Phocians, were all in alliance with the Bœotians, bent on obstructing his passage. He had formed his infantry in a hollow square, and placed half of his cavalry in front, and half in the rear. The charges of the Thessalian horse, which hovered on his rear, grew more and more annoying; and he was at length induced to send the foremost division of his cavalry, all but those who guarded his own person, to protect the rear. Here they drew up as for a regular action; but the enemy, seeing them supported by the infantry, did not choose to risk a battle, and, wheeling round, began slowly to retreat, and were followed by them at an equally gentle pace. Agesilaus saw at once the error which the enemy had committed, and the opportunity which his own men were flinging away, and despatched the troop of horse which remained with him to give the word for a vigorous pursuit, and to set the example themselves. The Thessalians were now so warmly pressed that they had no time to wheel round

describes the result very differently. According to him the fugitives were admitted.

¹ Diodor. xiv. 83.

² Ibid. xiv. 83. Plut. Ages. 16.

and face the enemy. Many did not attempt it, and sought safety only in flight. But those who made the attempt and among them their commander Polymachus, were taken in flank before they could complete their evolution and were most of them slain. The flight became a mere rout, and did not cease until the fugitives had reached mount Narthacium, part of the range of hills which skirt the gulf of Pagasæ. Agesilaus pursued his march without further interruption, well pleased with the victory he had gained over the most renowned cavalry of Greece with squadrons formed entirely by his own training. His success indeed was owing less to their skill and courage than to the enemy's oversight. But the impression which the report would produce might not be the less favourable. The next day he crossed the chain of Othrys, and had a friendly country to traverse as far as the borders of Bœotia.

He here received intelligence of an event, which deeply affected him, both as a private and a public calamity, and, while it wounded his domestic feelings, threatened ruin to the most cherished of his ambitious projects. This was the defeat and death of his brother in law, Pisander, whom, as we have seen, he had entrusted with the command of the fleet. Xenophon — occupied with the exploits of Agesilaus — passes over the steps that led to this event, which produced a most important change in the whole aspect of affairs both in Asia and Europe, in total silence ; though the successful endeavours of one of his most illustrious countrymen, to restore the independence and power of Athens, might have seemed not less interesting than the marauding adventures of his Spartan hero. Conon, after his escape from Ægos-potami, had been hospitably welcomed at Cyprus by Evagoras, who had taken advantage of a revolution which overthrew a preceding dynasty at Salamis, and had raised himself by his courage and prudence to the throne, which, as a descendant of Teucer, he might claim with some show of a legitimate title. Here Conon continued, it seems, for some years to watch the progress of events, waiting for an opportunity of rendering such service to

his country as might enable him to return to it as its benefactor. The war in which Sparta soon afterwards engaged with the power which had enabled her to triumph over Athens, opened a fairer prospect; and it is clear that he actively availed himself of it for the accomplishment of his main end. But the confused and contradictory statements of the later writers render it difficult to fill up the blank which Xenophon has left. Many of them mention a journey made by Conon to the Persian court, and some in such a manner that it seems as if it could only be referred to the period preceding the death of Tissaphernes.¹ It appears indeed to have been one of Conon's objects to counteract the policy of Tissaphernes, and to induce Artaxerxes to withdraw his confidence from him, and to transfer it to Pharnabazus, with whom he seems to have connected himself as soon as the satrap's friendly relations to Sparta had ceased. And we should be inclined to believe, that one result of this journey, if it took place in this period, was to urge those naval preparations of the Persian court, which gave occasion to the expedition of Agesilaus; and that the extraordinary commission by which Agesilaus was invested with the supreme command of the navy, was an effect of the alarm excited at Sparta by Conon's machinations.

Still it must be owned that it is not easy to reconcile these accounts with the more authentic narrative of Ctesias, who, in the meagre epitome of his Persian History now extant, appears to represent Conon as for the first time opening a correspondence with Artaxerxes, while he remained at Salamis.² Ctesias himself was entrusted with a share in the management of the negotiation, and he is said to have forged an addition to Conon's letter, by which the king was requested to send down his physician, as a man who might be useful in his naval affairs.³ But according to his own account⁴, Artaxerxes

¹ Paus. iii. 9. 2. Nepos Conon 3. Wesseling, on Diodorus, xiv. 81., censures his author for referring Conon's journey to a later period, in contradiction to these statements, of which he says "*omnibus aperta atque explorata sunt.*"

² This appears also to have been Plutarch's impression, Artax. 21

³ Plut. l. c.

⁴ Pers. 63. Plut. l. c.

of his own accord employed him to bear a letter to Conon, and he was probably chosen for this purpose to give Conon the stronger assurance of the king's favour and confidence. The letter seems to have contained a commission empowering Conon to raise a fleet at the expense of the Persian treasury and to act as admiral in the king's service under Pharnabazus. Ctesias was also charged with a letter, the contents of which cannot be so easily divined, to the Spartan government, and he ran some risk in carrying it: for he was put upon his trial, perhaps on the charge of conspiring with Conon against the Spartan interest, but was acquitted.

It appears from the narrative of Diodorus¹, compared with that of Xenophon², that Conon must have entered the Persian service before Agesilaus took the command in Asia. For we find that Pharax, the Spartan admiral, in the course of the expedition which he made in conjunction with Dercyllidas against Caria, laid siege to Caunus, where Conon was then lying with forty galleys, but was forced to retire by Tissaphernes³ and Pharnabazus, who marched with a strong force to its relief. It seems to have been not long after that Conon, having increased his fleet to eighty galleys, sailed to the Lycian Chersonesus, to take advantage of some movements which he had himself excited in Rhodes. The democratical Rhodians, animated by the assurance of his support, notwithstanding the presence of the Peloponnesian armament under Pharax, revolted from Sparta, expelled their political adversaries, compelled Pharax to withdraw, and received Conon and his fleet into their harbour. This important acquisition was attended by another of considerable value. The Spartans had concluded an alliance with Nephereus, or Nepherrites, who at this time held Egypt in revolt against the Persian king; and he had sent them a present of rigging for a hundred galleys

¹ XIV. 79.

² Hell. iii. 2.

³ Diodorus, xiv. 79., has the name of Artaphernes. But when it is considered that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were at this time acting together in Caria, it can scarcely be doubted, that either Diodorus has made one of his usual mistakes about the name, or that his text is corrupt.

and a large quantity of corn. The Egyptian convoy was on its passage to Greece when the revolution took place at Rhodes, and, sailing, in ignorance of the event, along the coast of the island, was intercepted by Conon. We have already had occasion to notice the manner in which the revolt of Rhodes appears to have been connected with the fate of Dorieus.¹

It was perhaps not before the following spring—that of 396, in which Agesilaus began his expedition to Asia—that Conon was reinforced by an armament of ten Cilician, and eighty Phœnician galleys, commanded by a prince of Sidon. But we do not learn that he made any use of his powerful navy during the campaigns of Agesilaus: and we are informed that the want of money kept him for a time inactive.² It seems most probable that he now made a journey to the Persian court for the purpose of obtaining supplies. Diodorus distinctly relates that he left the fleet in the care of two Athenians, named Hieronymus and Nicodemus³, while he himself went up to Babylon, where he had an interview with Artaxerxes, who granted all his requests, and, at his own desire, appointed Pharnabazus his colleague. Pharnabazus appears to have taken the command of the Phœnician galleys; the Greek squadron remained under the immediate orders of Conon. As they sailed westward along the coast of Syria, Conon's squadron being some way ahead, they fell in with Pisander coming from Cnidus. According to Diodorus his fleet consisted of eighty-five galleys, and that of the enemy amounted altogether to no more than ninety. But Xenophon informs us that Conon's squadron alone was so much stronger than Pisander's fleet, as to spread dismay among the enemy and that on

¹ Above p. 112.

² Isocr. Paneg. p. 70. says that, for three years preceding the battle of Cnidus, Artaxerxes suffered his navy to be blockaded by a fleet of no more than 100 galleys, and kept his troops fifteen months without their pay; and that the armament under Conon was frequently on the point of being broken up (*πολλάκις ἄν διελύθησαν*).

³ Perhaps the Nicophemus who will afterwards be mentioned as Conon's intimate friend.

his approach many of the allies in the left wing of the Peloponnesians immediately took to flight.¹ The rest were driven on shore, where Pisander, remaining with his ship to the last, fell, Spartan-like, sword in hand.

Agesilaus thought it necessary to guard by a stratagem against the effect which the tidings of this disaster might have produced on his Asiatic troops, who had followed him with reluctance, and had now cause to be disheartened and uneasy for the safety of their homes. He therefore announced, that, though Pisander himself had been slain, his fleet had been victorious; and he proceeded to offer a thanksgiving sacrifice for this joyful news. The success of this artifice, Xenophon says, was visible in the first skirmish that took place between his men and the enemy.

He found the whole force of the hostile confederacy—perhaps not inferior in numbers to the army which had been defeated near Corinth—assembled in the plain of Coronea. He had collected some reinforcements from the Greek cities that lay on his road; and he was now joined by the forces of Phocis and Orchomenus, and received the still more welcome addition of a Lacedæmonian mora, from Corinth, and of half a one which had been in garrison at Orchomenus. Xenophon however does not venture to determine the proportion which his heavy infantry bore to those of the enemy, but observes, that in light troops he was far superior, and that the numbers of the cavalry on both sides were about equal. Agesilaus himself commanded the right wing, which was opposed to the Argives. The Orchomenian troops in his extreme left fronted the Thebans. The two armies advanced toward each other in deep silence, until they were about a furlong apart. The Thebans then raised the war shout, and ran forward to the charge: and at a shorter interval the

¹ Diodorus, xiv. 83., may have mistaken the number of Conon's Greek squadron for that of the whole united Græco-Phœnician fleet. It is however also possible that Xenophon adopted the Spartan official account of the battle, without investigating the details. Indeed a difference of five would hardly satisfy his πολλὸν ἡττηθέντων.

Asiatic troops of Agesilaus likewise rushed out from the body of the phalanx to meet the enemy. Their onset, as well as that of the Thebans, broke through the opposite part of the hostile line. But the Argives did not even wait to receive the charge of Agesilaus, but fled toward Helicon, leaving him master of the field, and some of his followers were on the point of crowning him as victor, when he was informed that the Thebans, having dispersed the Orchomenians, had fallen upon his baggage. He immediately marched against them; and the Thebans, seeing the battle lost, were only anxious to rejoin their allies, who had taken refuge in the hills, and for this purpose consolidated their ranks in the hopes of breaking through his line. He would have acted, Xenophon thinks, more like a prudent general, if he had opened a passage for them, and then cut them down as they fled. He was perhaps swayed by personal resentment, and in the hope of a more complete, though a less cheap and easy victory, stopt their retreat. An obstinate conflict ensued, in which he received some severe wounds, but defeated the enemy, and scattered them in all directions. He had just been carried back to his camp, when he was informed that some eighty of the fugitives had taken shelter in the neighbouring sanctuary of the Itonian Athene. Xenophon considers it as a memorable triumph of piety over revenge, that he respected the asylum, and dismissed the suppliants in safety. Though the victory was clear, the enemy still remained at hand in sufficient force to have renewed the combat. The next day therefore Agesilaus ordered Gylis, the officer next in command, to draw up the army in battle array, wearing their crowns in token of victory, and to erect the trophy to martial music. But the Thebans were not disposed to contest his triumph, and applied for a truce to bury their slain. Agesilaus then, proceeded with a few followers to Delphi, to sacrifice a tenth of the spoil which he had collected in the course of his Asiatic expedition. It amounted to not less than 100 talents. Gylis was

ordered to invade Locris, which had given the first occasion or pretext of the war. But after a day's plunder, the Lacedæmonian troops returning last to their camp, were attacked by the Locrians, and having to make their way in the dark, over difficult and unknown ground, suffered some loss; Gylis himself was slain with many of his officers, and it was only by the timely succour of their allies that they were saved from a more serious disaster. The army was then disbanded and Agesilaus returned home by sea. The reputation which he had gained by his victories was heightened, when it was observed that they had wrought no change in his habits, and that he conformed to the laws and fashions of Sparta with as much simplicity, as if he had never been in a foreign land.

But Corinth still continued to be the theatre of war. A Lacedæmonian garrison occupied Sicyon, and made frequent inroads into the Corinthian territory. The allies of Corinth were well pleased to see themselves thus exempt from the calamities of war at her expense. But the party among the Corinthians which, on political grounds, desired to renew their connection with Sparta, derived new motives from this state of things to encourage them in their designs; and they began to hold private meetings to concert measures for restoring peace. Their movements were observed by their adversaries, who determined to counteract them by one of those atrocious massacres which so frequently disfigure the pages of Greek history. We do not know what credit may be due to Xenophon, when he intimates that all the principal allies of Corinth, the Argives, and Bœotians, and Athenians, had an equal share in the conspiracy, or whether he is only speaking of the foreign garrison. His horror is chiefly excited by the impiety of the murderers, who selected a holiday for the deed, that they might be the more likely to find their enemies out of doors, and in the execution of their purpose paid no regard to the most sacred things and places, but stained even the altars and images of the gods with the

blood of their victims. Unhappily this was no new excess of party rage: but perhaps few scenes of this kind had been planned with more ferocious coolness, or accompanied with a greater number of shocking circumstances; though it must not be forgotten that it is Xenophon who describes it. Suspicions however had been previously entertained of the plot by Pasimelus, one of the persecuted party, and at the time of the tumult a body of the younger citizens was assembled with him in a place of exercise outside the walls. They immediately ran up to seize the Acrocorinthus, where they maintained themselves for a time against the attacks of their enemies. But an unpropitious omen, probably strengthening the consciousness of their weakness, made them resolve to withdraw, and to seek safety in exile. Yet, notwithstanding the impious treachery of their enemies, they were induced by the persuasions of their friends and relatives, and by the oaths of the leading men of the opposite party, to abandon this intention, and return to their homes.

But their fears for their personal safety had no sooner subsided, than the state of public affairs again began to appear insupportable, and they were ready to run any risk for the sake of a change. The opposite party had gone so far in their enmity to Sparta, or in their zeal for democracy, as to do their utmost toward establishing a complete unity, both of civil rights and of territory, between Corinth and Argos. The landmarks which separated the two states had been removed; so that the name either of Corinth or of Argos might be applied to the whole. But since it was Argive influence that had brought about this union, since the Argive institutions had been adopted, and the Argive franchise communicated to the Corinthians, the discontented had some reason to complain, that Corinth had lost her independence and dignity, while Argos had gained an increase of territory by the transaction. But what they bore still more impatiently, was the loss of their own

rank and influence, which were totally extinguished by the union : they no longer enjoyed any exclusive privileges, any rights which they did not share with the whole Argive-Corinthian commonalty ; and this was a franchise which they valued no more than the condition of an alien. They therefore resolved on a desperate effort for restoring Corinth to her former station in Greece, and for recovering their own station in Corinth.

Pasimelus and Alcimanes took the lead in this enterprise. They obtained a secret interview with Praxitas, the Spartan commander at Sicyon, and proposed to admit him and his troops within the walls that joined Corinth with Lechæum, her port on the western gulf. He knew the men, and embraced their offer ; and at an appointed hour of night came with a mora of Lacedæmonians, and a body of Sicyonians and of Corinthian exiles, to a gate where the conspirators had contrived to get themselves placed on duty. He was introduced without any opposition ; but as the space between the walls was large, and he had brought but a small force with him, he threw up a slight intrenchment, to secure himself until the succours which he expected should arrive. During the next day he remained quiet, and was not attacked ; though, beside the garrison of the city, there was a body of Bœotians behind him at Lechæum. But aid had been summoned from Argos, and on the day following the Argive forces arrived, and, confident in their numbers, immediately sought the enemy. They were supported by their Corinthian partisans, and by a body of mercenaries commanded by Iphicrates, an Athenian general, who in this war laid the foundation of his military renown. The superiority of the Lacedæmonian troops over the other Greeks, and the terror they inspired even when they were greatly outnumbered, was again strikingly manifested in the engagement which ensued. The Argives forced their way through the intrenchment, and drove the handful of Sicyonians before them down to the sea.

But when the Lacedæmonians came up, they took to flight, without offering any resistance, and made for the city. But, meeting with the Corinthian exiles, who had defeated the mercenaries, and were returning from the pursuit, they were driven back, and those who did not make their escape by ladders over the wall¹, were slaughtered by the Lacedæmonians like a flock of sheep. Lechæum was taken, and the Bœotian garrison put to the sword. After his victory Praxitas was joined by the expected contingents of the allies, and he made use of them first to demolish the long walls, for a space sufficient to afford a passage for an army. Next, crossing the isthmus, he took and garrisoned the towns of Sidus and Crommyon. On his return he fortified the heights of Epieicea, which commanded one of the most important passes, and then disbanded his army, and returned to Sparta.

Two battles had now been fought, in which almost the whole force of Greece had been engaged; much blood had been shed, yet the war had not been brought a step nearer to an issue; and the only important object hitherto attained was the recall of Agesilaus. The belligerents were growing weary, and yet were not willing to withdraw from the contest. But, instead of putting forth their whole strength in joint expeditions, and running the risk of general actions, they contented themselves with an easier and safer, though a wasteful and bootless kind of warfare. Two important consequences of the long series of hostilities in which all the Greek states had been engaged now became apparent. The number of persons who were thrown upon war as a means of subsistence had so much increased, that the

¹ Xenophon with his usual brevity omits to explain how these ladders were procured, as he frequently neglects minute circumstances necessary to the clearness of his narrative: for instance iv. 4. 5. τῶν κλίμακων—where Schneider's remark, that there were many pillars in the Acrocorinthus, does not account for the article—and iii. 5. 8. τὴν γοναίαν. But it is quite clear that these ladders were not let down by the Corinthians in the city from the city walls. The wall (τὸ τεῖχος) which the Argives scaled is plainly distinguished from the city wall (ὁ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλος) nor was there any reason why they should have killed themselves by jumping down the city wall, which was guarded by their friends.

contending powers were able to carry on the struggle with mercenary troops. Another result of the long practice of war was, that it had begun to be more and more studied as an art, and cultivated with new refinements. Thus Iphicrates had been led to devote his attention to the improvement of a branch of the light infantry, which had hitherto been accounted of little moment in the Greek military system. He had formed a new body of targeteers, which in some degree combined the peculiar advantages of the heavy and light troops, and was equally adapted for combat and pursuit. To attain these objects, he had substituted a linen corslet for the ancient coat of mail, and had reduced the size of the shield, while he doubled the length of the spear and the sword. At the head of this corps he made frequent inroads into Peloponnesus, and in the territory of Phlius he surprised the forces of the little state in an ambuscade, and made so great a slaughter of them that the Phliasians were obliged to admit a Lacedæmonian garrison into their town. They had before shrunk from this mode of securing themselves, through fear that their allies might abuse their confidence, and might compel them to receive their exiles, who professed a more zealous attachment to the Lacedæmonian interest. The Spartans however acted on this occasion with perfect honour and good faith: they abstained from interfering in favour of their partisans, and finally, when their protection was no longer needed, left the town, with its institutions unaltered, in the possession of the party which had entrusted them with it. But in Arcadia such was the terror inspired by the troops of Iphicrates, that they were suffered to plunder the country with impunity, and the Arcadians did not venture to meet them in the field. On the other hand they were themselves no less in dread of the Lacedæmonians, who had taught them to keep aloof in a manner which proved the peculiar excellence of the Spartan military training. They had found by experience that they were not safe within a javelin's

throw of the Lacedæmonian heavy infantry; for even at that distance they had on one occasion been overtaken by some of the younger soldiers. The Spartans even ventured to laugh at the fears of their allies, which they probably observed with complacency, as evidence of their own superiority. A Lacedæmonian mora, stationed at Lechæum, accompanied by the Corinthian exiles, ranged the country round about Corinth without interruption. Yet it was not able to prevent the Athenians from repairing the breach which Praxitas had made in the Long Walls, which they regarded as a barrier that screened Attica from invasion. The whole serviceable population of Athens, with a company of carpenters and masons, sallied forth to the Isthmus, and having restored the western wall in a few days, completed the other at their leisure. Their work however was destroyed, in the course of the same summer, by Agesilaus, on his return from an expedition which he had made into Argolis, for the purpose of letting the Argives taste the fruits of the war which they had helped to stir, and were most forward to keep up. After having carried his ravages into every part of their territory, he marched to Corinth, stormed the newly repaired walls, and recovered Lechæum. Here he met his brother Teleutias, who, through his influence¹, which in this case was better exerted than in that of Pisander, had been appointed to the command of the fleet, and having come with a small squadron to support his operations, made some prizes in the harbour and the docks.

But the appearance of Teleutias in the Corinthian gulf was connected with other events, more important than any which took place in Peloponnesus after the return of Agesilaus from Asia. That we may exhibit them in an uninterrupted series, together with their consequences, we shall follow Xenophon's order, and return to them after having briefly related how the war

¹ Plut. Ages. 21.

was carried on in Greece, in the campaigns which ensued down to its close.

In the spring of 392, Agesilaus made a fresh expedition for the purpose of bringing the Corinthians to terms, by cutting off one of their chief resources. The fortress of Piræum, at the foot of mount Geranea on the western gulf¹, afforded shelter for the flocks and herds which were transported into its precincts from other parts of the Corinthian territory, and maintained a numerous garrison, and the whole surrounding district had hitherto been exempt from the ravages of war. There was a prospect of at once gaining a rich booty, and striking a blow which would reduce the enemy to great distress; more especially as this was the easiest road by which the Bœotians could send their succours to Corinth. Agesilaus, perhaps by design, arrived at the Isthmus at the season of the Isthmian games, which the Argives were celebrating in the name of Corinth, the legitimate president. They were in the midst of the sacrifice, when the Lacedæmonian army appeared, and immediately abandoning all their preparations for the festival, fled to the city. Agesilaus remained encamped on the Isthmus, while the Corinthian exiles completed the sacrifice, and presided over the games, and then marched toward Piræum. After his departure the Argives celebrated the games afresh, in which it was observed that many of the late competitors returned to the contest, and that some were again successful. Agesilaus found Piræum so strongly garrisoned, that he did not venture to attack it, until, by feigning an intention of marching upon Corinth, so as to raise a suspicion of a secret understanding with a party in the city, he had drawn away most of the garrison, and among the rest the greater part of the corps of Iphicrates. As soon as they had passed his camp — and though it was night he perceived their movements —

¹ To be carefully distinguished from the desert harbour of Piræus, at the other extremity of the Corinthian territory on the Saronic Gulf, which we have had occasion to mention above p. 9. It is strange that Schneider should intimate a doubt on this subject.

he only waited for daybreak to return toward Piræum, and the following evening detached a mora to occupy the heights, which commanded it, while he encamped with the rest of his troops below. In the morning the garrison of Piræum, seeing the enemy above them, considered resistance as hopeless, and evacuated the fortress with the women, slaves, and all the property that had been sheltered there, and took refuge in a neighbouring sanctuary of Here, which lay nearer to the seaside. But after the troops on the heights above Piræum had descended and taken the fortress of Cœnoë on the north, and Agesilaus had come up from the opposite side, the fugitives in the Heræum surrendered to him unconditionally. Among them were some of the persons implicated in the massacre at Corinth. These he gave up to the vengeance of the exiles; the rest with all their property he exposed to sale.

The captures and the booty were brought out, and passed in review before Agesilaus, as he sat in an adjacent building on the margin of a small lake. His triumph was heightened by the presence of envoys from various states, among the rest from Thebes, where the party which desired peace had succeeded in procuring an embassy to be sent for the purpose of ascertaining the terms which Sparta would grant. Agesilaus, the more fully to enjoy their humiliation, affected to take no notice of their presence, while Pharax, their proxenus, stood by him, waiting for an opportunity to present them. Just at this juncture a horseman came up, his horse covered with foam, and informed the king of a disaster which had just befallen the garrison of Lechæum, the loss of almost a whole mora, which had been intercepted and cut off by Iphicrates and his targeteers. The action was in itself so trifling, that it would scarcely have deserved mention, but for the importance attached to it at the time, and the celebrity which it retained for many generations. The occasion however was remarkable on another account. The inhabitants of the Laconian canton of Ainyclæ never

permitted any engagement, civil or military, to prevent them from attending the Hyacinthian festival. As this festival was approaching at the time when Agesilaus was on his march against Piræum, he had left all the Amyclæans in his army at Lechæum, to be sent home: and the commander of the garrison had escorted them with a mora of infantry and a troop of cavalry on their way through the enemy's territory. But deeming himself secure from attack, he had permitted the cavalry to accompany them a little further than he went himself, while he returned toward Lechæum with the infantry. The movements of this little band were observed from Corinth, where, in addition to the ordinary force of the place, there was a body of Athenian heavy infantry, under Callias, son of Hipponicus, and Iphicrates had arrived with his targeteers. Callias and Iphicrates undertook to cut off the enemy's retreat. The infantry was drawn up not far from the city; the active service fell upon Iphicrates. Notwithstanding the terror with which, according to Xenophon, the Lacedæmonians had inspired his men, they did not now fear to venture within a javelin's throw of the enemy, and the Lacedæmonians, when galled by their missiles, were no longer able to overtake them, but only exposed themselves to increasing loss, while they spent their strength in repeated attempts for that purpose. An exhausted remnant of the mora at length reached a rising ground, about two miles from Lechæum, and two furlongs from the sea, and boats were sent out which afforded some of them means of escape¹; and a few more were rescued by their cavalry, which came up about the same time.

After all, the whole loss of the Lacedæmonians amounted to no more than 250 men.² Yet it pro-

¹ Schneider's supposition, that the men in the boats, who are expressly said to have come from Lechæum, were nevertheless the heavy infantry of Callias, needs no refutation, and can only excite astonishment. He ought not *here* to have complained of Xenophon's negligence and obscurity, well founded as the censure is in a more general application.

² As the mora consisted in general of about 600 men, it would seem that the disaster was magnified in the first report brought of it to Agesilaus.

duced a degree of consternation and dejection on the one side, and of exultation on the other, which is significant in the same proportion that the disaster appears to us slight, and the exploit inconsiderable. Nothing more clearly shows the weakness of Sparta and the power of her name, than the importance attributed both by herself and by her enemies to this petty affair. As soon as Agesilaus heard the news, he set off, without a moment's delay, accompanied by his principal officers toward the scene of action, ordering the troops to follow after snatching a hasty meal. But before he reached Lechæum, he was met by some horsemen who informed him that the slain had already been taken up, and he therefore returned to the Heræum, and the next day proceeded with the sale of the booty and the captives. The Boeotian envoys were now called in to discharge their commission; but they too had heard of the enemy's recent calamity, and thought it made such an alteration in the posture of affairs, that they forbore even to mention the business on which they had been sent, and merely requested leave to visit their troops who were quartered at Corinth. Agesilaus saw through their motives, and promised that he would take them along with him, and give them means of judging what their friends had gained by their victory. Accordingly he marched the next day toward Corinth, and having most searchingly ravaged the surrounding country, without encountering an enemy, sent the envoys by sea to Crete. Yet even this proof of their superiority could not allay the grief of the army, where, says Xenophon, the only cheerful faces were those of the relatives of the slain who had fallen in the late action at their post. Agesilaus, having accomplished the object of his expedition, now set out homeward. He took with him the remnant of the defeated mora, leaving another in its room at Lechæum. But his march through Peloponnesus was like that of the Roman army on its return from the Caudine Forks. He would only enter the towns, where he was forced to rest, as late as he

could in the evening, and left them again at break of day. At Mantinea, though it was dark when he reached it, he would not stop at all, that his men might not have to endure the insulting joy of their ill-affected allies. On the other hand Iphicrates was emboldened by his success to aim at fresh advantages; and he recovered Sidus, Crommyon, and Ænoe, where Agesilaus had left a garrison. His achievement struck such terror into the Corinthian exiles at Sicyon, that they no longer ventured to repeat their marauding excursions by land, but crossed over the gulf, and landed near Corinth, when they saw opportunity of giving annoyance. Even in later times the destruction of the Lacedæmonian mora — two hundred and fifty men — continued to be mentioned as the great military action of his life¹, and was not thought unworthy to be named in the same page with Marathon and Plataea.

It is not improbable that this victory of Iphicrates was attended with another result, which Xenophon has not thought fit to notice. It seems not only to have prevented the Theban envoys from discharging their commission, but to have put a stop to a negotiation which was proceeding at the same time between Athens and Sparta, after it had reached a very advanced stage. From an extant oration of Andocides, which certainly belongs to this year², we learn, that the orator had been sent on an embassy to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a peace, but that though the terms proposed by the Spartans satisfied him and his colleagues, they chose to lay them before the Athenian assembly, and returned to Athens accompanied by Spartan plenipotentiaries, to whom forty days were allowed for the negotiation. They were met by ministers from Corinth and Argos, who came to urge their ally to continue the war. The conditions proposed were such as, before Canon's victory, would have been deemed highly advan-

¹ Nepos Iph. 2. Moram Lacedæmoniorum interceptit: quod maxime tota celebratum est Græcia.

² See Mr. Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 99.

tageous to the Athenians. They were not only released from all restrictions as to the fortifications of their city and their marine, but were permitted to resume possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros. According to the orator's statement there were persons at Athens who thought these proposals so inviting, that they complained of the delay which had been created by the timidity of their envoys. On the other hand he intimates, that there were others who looked for much more: who hoped to recover the Thracian Chersonesus, the colonies, and even the estates and the debts, which might be claimed by Athenian citizens in foreign lands: demands, which, as Andocides observes, not only their enemies, but their allies, would certainly have resisted. But the success of Iphicrates, and the impression which it was reported to have left on the Spartans, may have caused these expectations to seem less extravagant, and have contributed at least to the breaking off of the negotiation. One trace of a sudden and violent reaction seems to be, that Andocides was banished on account of the share he had taken in it.¹

Minute as these occurrences are, they are perhaps, both in themselves and for the impression they produced, the most momentous that took place in Greece before the end of the war. We should have been glad indeed to know a little more of the causes which withdrew Iphicrates from this scene of action shortly after his victory: for they would perhaps have thrown some light on the internal state of Corinth. But Xenophon only informs us that he was dismissed by the Argives, after he had put to death some Corinthians of their party: from what motive and on what pretext, we do not learn; nor does it appear whether this transaction had any influence on the relations between Athens and Argos.

In the year following no military operations seem to have taken place in Peloponnesus, except the petty combats or alternate inroads between Sicyon and Co-

¹ Pseudo-Plut. Vit. x. Orat. Andocides.

rinth, which Xenophon himself does not think worth more than a general notice. But the arms of Agesilaus were turned against Acarnania, where he displayed his usual ability, and established the Spartan supremacy almost without bloodshed. The Ætolian town of Calydon seems to have found itself in need of protection against the hostility of the Acarnanians, and thus to have been induced to attach itself to the Achæan body, which, with its usual liberality, admitted it to the enjoyment of equal rights, and sent a body of troops to garrison the town. But after this event the Acarnanians continued their aggressions, and being supported by Athenian and Bœotian auxiliaries, pressed the town so closely, that the Achæans were at length compelled to demand aid from Sparta. Agesilaus marched to overawe or chastise the Acarnanians. Before he crossed their frontier, he sent a message to the national congress at Stratus, threatening to lay waste the whole country unless they immediately renounced their alliance with Athens and Thebes, and joined the Spartan confederacy. When they refused to submit, he began to put his threat into execution, and ravaged the district which he first entered with such unsparing diligence, as to advance no more than about a mile and a half in the day. The extreme slowness of his progress, which was attributed to the resolution which he had expressed, encouraged the Acarnanians, who at first had removed their flocks and herds to the mountains for safety, to bring them down again into the plains, and to continue their rural labours. But Agesilaus, after having lingered for a fortnight near the border, to lull them into complete security, made a forced march of twenty miles, which in the course of one day brought him to a plain on the margin of a lake, where almost all the cattle were collected for pasture, and thus made himself master of a great part of the wealth of Acarnania. He was afterwards attacked by the Acarnanian targe-teers, as he issued from the plain, in a narrow pass, between the mountains and the edge of the lake, but

dislodged them from the heights by a vigorous charge, and killed about 300. During the rest of the summer he ranged over the country, and at the request of the Achæans attacked some of the towns, but without success. When he was preparing to withdraw, the Achæans expressed a wish, that he should stay to the end of the seed time, and destroy the hopes of the next harvest. But he observed that this would be to deprive himself of the only hold he had on the fears of the Acarnanians, by which in another year he might bring them to sue for peace. An Athenian squadron was lying at Cœniadæ, to intercept him, if, as was expected, he should attempt to cross the gulf from any part of the coast immediately below Calydon. To avoid it he marched to Rhium through the heart of Ætolia, by roads along which, Xenophon observes, no army, great or small, could have passed without the consent of the Ætolians. They permitted his passage, because they hoped to be aided by his influence in recovering Naupactus. At Rhium he crossed the straits, and returned home.

The event proved the policy of the moderation which he had shown against the wish of his allies. The next spring, as he was preparing for a second invasion of Acarnania, the Acarnanians, alarmed by the prospect of again losing a harvest, on which the subsistence of the people, who were but little conversant with arts or commerce, mainly depended, sent envoys to Sparta to treat for peace, and submitted to the terms which Agesilaus had dictated.

The same year his young colleague Agesipolis, who had now reached his majority, was entrusted with the command of an expedition against Argos. He had reason to expect that the Argives would avail themselves of the presidency which they claimed in the name of Corinth over the Isthmian games, to stop his march under a religious pretext, which, though he might disregard it himself, might exert some influence on the superstition of a Lacedæmonian army. He therefore thought it proper first to consult the ministers of the

Olympic god, whether he might invade Argolis without impiety, even if the Argives should claim the protection of the holy season, which it belonged to the presidents of the games publicly to announce. The god was made to answer that piety did not require him to admit a fraudulent plea, such as that of the Argives would be, if they should alter the time of the festival to suit their own interest, even should their title to the presidency be acknowledged.¹ Agesipolis then put the same question to the Delphic oracle, under a form which sounds to us somewhat ludicrous: *whether Apollo was of the same mind as his father*: and he received an equally encouraging reply. He then proceeded to Phlius, which he had appointed as the place of rendezvous, and led his army toward Argolis. The Argives as had been their practice on former occasions, sent two heralds to meet him at the border, and announce the commencement of the sacred truce, during which they pretended to the same exemption from hostile inroads as the Eleans enjoyed for the celebration of the Olympic festival.² But Agesipolis answered that the

¹ We have adopted this conjecture of Dodwell's, as to the nature of the pretence set up by the Argives, because we do not know of any that does not raise still greater difficulties. Yet, if Xenophon's history did not abound in seeming inconsistencies, we might have thought it incredible that he should have related the scruples of Agesipolis, without throwing out some hint to reconcile them with the conduct of Agesilaus, who, at the preceding Isthmian festival, had treated the Argives as intruders. One would have thought that after this the Argives could not have dreamt of stopping a Spartan army by such an expedient. Another difficulty is raised by Xenophon's remark, that this had been their usual practice (*ὡς τε εἰώθεσαν*). What opportunity had they ever had before, since the beginning of their union with Corinth, on which they founded their title to the presidency of the Isthmian games, to avail themselves of it in this manner? Dodwell presumes, without any authority, that they had tried to stop Agesilaus by the same artifice. But this is the more improbable, as his invasion did not take place in an Isthmian year. Possibly however the Argives may have abused their presidency of the Nemean festival for such purposes. We need say nothing to expose the extravagant absurdity of the supposition, that the subject on which Agesipolis consulted the two oracles was a mere ordinary *proposul of truce*; and that Xenophon could have used such a phrase as *ὡς τε εἰώθεσαν τοὺς μῆνας* to express such a meaning, even if the words, *ὅτε τε καὶ καὶ ὁ χρόνος*, had not occurred in the same sentence.

² But the ground of this pretension is extremely obscure. Schneider observes that he does not know of any passage in any Greek author, that made mention of an Isthmian truce. And perhaps this ought to be considered as one of the circumstances which point rather to some local or Dorian festival (of which Pausanias seems to speak, iii. 5. 8. *τιμωσιν κρηνηκαὶ οἱ Ἀργῖοι στίσιμα νηὶ τῷ Ἀργεῖ τολίμῳ στίσι ταταῖσι δὲ τῆς σπονδῆς ἐκ ταλαιῦ καλίστα*; τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τῷ Ἀλλήλοισι than to the Isthmian

gods had decided against their plea, and continued his march, spreading terror as he advanced, toward the capital. It happened that on the same day the shock of an earthquake was felt in the Spartan camp. The king and his principal attendants, who were at supper, immediately raised a pæan to Posidon, the earth-shaking god; and their example was followed by the Lacedæmonian troops. But a murmur arose among the allies, that the earthquake was a warning to retreat, as Agis had done from Elis, on a similar occasion. Agesipolis however, with great presence of mind, interpreted the omen as an encouragement, because it had occurred after he had crossed the border. Yet after he had ravaged the country, even beyond the extreme points which Agesilaus — whom he affected to outdo — had reached, in his invasion¹, and had driven the enemy within their walls, he suffered himself to be deterred by the aspect of the victims from fortifying a post on the border, which might have been as annoying to Argos as Decelea had been to Athens. As it was, the expedition yielded no fruit but the plunder, with which he returned to Sparta.

In the meanwhile, through the ambition of Sparta and the patriotic efforts of Conon, Athens had been enabled to take some great steps towards securing her independence, and recovering a part at least of her ancient power. After the seafight of Cnidus, Pharnabazus and Conon had cruised about the Ægean, had expelled the Lacedæmonian harmosts from most of the maritime cities, and had won the inhabitants by the assurance which the satrap was induced by his Athenian

games. This would be consistent enough with Xenophon's language; but it does not appear how the Argives could have claimed the right of fixing the time for the celebration of such a common festival; and it seems certain that they never possessed it with regard to the Carneæ.

¹ To any one not used to Xenophon's manner, it must seem surprising that, after having related, iv. 4 19, that Agesilaus had ravaged the whole of Argolis (ὅλην ἄρ' αὐτὸν τὴν χώραν) he should now say that Agesipolis did not lead his army far into the country (ὅστις οὐ πόλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν) but only, having learnt from his soldiers who had served under Agesilaus in Argolis, how far he had extended his ravages, endeavoured to go beyond him.

counsellor to hold out to them, that their citadels should not be occupied by foreign garrisons, and that they should be left in the unrestrained enjoyment of domestic liberty. It was one of the rare happy junctures in their history, when a struggle between the greater powers gave a temporary importance to their preference. Pharnabazus afterwards landed at Ephesus, where he left the greater part of the fleet, and ordering Conon to meet him at Sestus with forty galleys, proceeded by land to his own satrapy. But before he and Conon met in the Hellespont, Dercyllidas, who, having been sent forward, as we have seen, by Agesilaus, happened to be at Abydus, when he received the tidings of Pisander's defeat, both secured the fidelity of Abydus by an appeal to its fears and hopes from the Spartan power — which, he argued, was not shaken by the event of the seafight — and induced the people of Sestus to give shelter to several of the ejected harmosts, and to other friends of the Spartan interest, whom he collected there from other parts of the Chersonesus, and to defy the attacks of the Persian armament. Pharnabazus, when he arrived at the Hellespont, endeavoured to detach these two cities from the Spartan alliance by threats: but in vain; nor could he make any impression on Abydus, though he ravaged its territory, while Conon blockaded it by sea. But in the course of the winter Conon drew contributions from the other cities on the Hellespont, for the armament with which Pharnabazus designed to retaliate upon Sparta for the injuries he had suffered.

In the following spring, 393, having collected a great fleet, and raised a strong body of mercenaries, Pharnabazus himself again embarked with Conon, and sailing to the coast of Laconia, entered the Messenian gulf, where they ravaged the rich vale of the Pamisus about Pheræ, and, making descents at many other points, inflicted all the damage in their power. When it seemed no longer prudent to remain on a hostile and harbourless coast, and their provisions were growing

scarce, they made for Cythera. The inhabitants of the town of Cythera, whose walls were in bad condition, capitulated and were allowed to withdraw to Laconia. The fortifications were repaired, and Nicophemus, an Athenian, an intimate friend of Conon's¹, was left there with a garrison as harmost. They then sailed to the Isthmus, and Pharnabazus, after exhorting the deputies of the allied states whom he found there, to carry on the war with vigour, and to abide by their engagements to his master, and leaving them a subsidy, as large as he could spare, prepared to return home. But Conon now requested that the fleet might be placed at his disposal, promising to maintain it at the expense of the islanders of the Ægean without any further demand on the Persian treasury. And he proposed in the first instance to employ it in a work, which, as he represented to the satrap, would be felt by Sparta as one of the deepest wounds she could suffer. It was to restore the Long Walls of Athens, and the fortifications of Piræus, and thus to undo what it had cost the Spartans the efforts of many years to accomplish. He would thus, while he conferred an inestimable obligation on the Athenians, most effectually revenge himself. Pharnabazus eagerly adopted so easy a mode of gratifying his resentment, and not only granted Conon's request, but furnished him with money for his undertaking. Conon immediately sailed to Athens, and restored a great part of the walls with the labour of his crews, and of workmen hired with the Persian gold. The rest was completed by the Athenians themselves, with the aid of their allies, more especially the Thebans, who a few years before had done their utmost to level the whole city with the ground. While this work was proceeding, the Corinthians, with the subsidy they had received, fitted out a squadron, with which their admiral Agathinus scoured the Corinthian gulf. The Spartans sent Polemarchus with some galleys to oppose him: but their commander was soon after slain, and Pollis, who took his place, was compelled by a wound which he

¹ Lysias *Pro Eon.* Aristoph. p. 153. See above, p. 245.

received in another engagement, to resign it to Herippidas. Herippidas seems to have driven the Corinthians from their station at Rhium: and Teleutias, who succeeded him, recovered the complete mastery of the gulf, and was thus enabled, as we have seen¹, to co-operate with Agesilaus at Lechæum.

But this partial success did not diminish the alarm with which the Spartan government viewed the operations of Conon, who was proceeding to restore the Athenian dominion on the coasts and in the islands of the Ægean. It perceived that it was necessary to change its policy with regard to the court of Persia, and for the present at least to drop the design of conquest in Asia, and to confine itself to the object of counteracting the efforts of the Athenians, and establishing its own supremacy among the European Greeks. And it did not despair of making the Persian court subservient to these ends. For this purpose Antalcidas, a dexterous politician of Lysander's school, was sent to Tiribazus, who was now occupying the place of Tithraustes in Western Asia, to negotiate a peace. His mission awakened the apprehensions of the hostile confederacy; and envoys were sent from Athens, Bœotia, Corinth, and Argos, to defeat his attempts, and to support the interests of the allies at the satrap's court. Antalcidas however made proposals highly agreeable to Tiribazus, and accompanied them with arguments which convinced the satrap that his master's interest perfectly coincided with that of Sparta. He renounced all claim on the part of his government to the Greek cities in Asia, and was willing that they should remain subject to the king's authority. For the islands, and the other towns, he asked nothing but independence. Thus, he observed, no motive for war between Greece and Persia would be left. The King could gain nothing by it, and would have no reason to fear either Athens or Sparta, so long as the other Greek states remained independent. Tiribazus was perfectly satisfied, but had not authority

¹ Above, p. 420.

to close with these overtures, at least against the will of the states which were at present in alliance with his master ; and they refused to accede to a treaty on these terms. We should have wished to know what objections they alleged ; but Xenophon has only mentioned the grounds on which they were averse to it. The Athenians feared that by assenting to the principle which was proposed as the basis of the treaty, they should forfeit their claim, not only to maritime dominion, but even to the islands of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyrus, which they were accustomed to consider as parts of their own territory. The Thebans dreaded the loss of their sovereignty in Bœotia : the Argives that they should be compelled to abandon their hold upon Corinth. They probably grounded their opposition on very different arguments ; and though they did not convince Tiribazus, they succeeded in putting an end to the public negotiation.

But, though the satrap did not venture openly to enter into alliance with Sparta without his master's consent, he did not scruple privately to supply Antalcidas with money for the purpose of raising a navy to carry on the war with the states which were still acknowledged as allies of Persia : and having drawn Conon to Sardis, he threw him into prison, on the pretext that he had abused his trust, and had employed the king's forces for the aggrandisement of Athens. He then repaired to court to report his proceedings and to consult the royal pleasure. It was perhaps rather through some court intrigue, or vague suspicion, than a deliberate purpose of adopting a line of policy opposite to that of Tiribazus, that Artaxerxes detained him at court, and sent Struthas down to fill his place. Struthas had perhaps witnessed the Asiatic campaigns of Agesilaus, and could not all at once get rid of the impression, that the Spartans were his master's most formidable enemies. He therefore immediately made known his intention of siding with the Athenians and their allies. The Spartan government, perhaps too hastily, conclud-

ing that their prospect of amicable dealings with Persia was now quite closed, determined to renew hostilities in Asia, and sent Thimbron — apparently the same officer whom we have already seen commanding there, and who had been fined on his return to Sparta for his misconduct — to invade the king's territory. Thimbron, if it is the same person, had not learnt wisdom from experience. He was addicted to the pleasures of the table, careless, and improvident in the discharge of his duties. In the inroads which he made from Ephesus, and from the lower vale of the Mæander, into the satrapy of Struthas, while he suffered his troops to range over the country for plunder, he paid little attention to their safety, and, when they were attacked, would succour them in as negligent and disorderly a manner as if he thought his presence alone was sufficient to scare the enemy away. Struthas took advantage of his failings, and, one day that he had gone out at the head of a small party to attack some of the Persian cavalry who had been purposely thrown in his way, suddenly appeared with a superior force, slew him, and a flute-player named Thersander, the favourite companion of his convivial hours, and defeated the rest of his army, as it came up after him, with great slaughter.

Diphridas was sent from Sparta to collect the scattered remains of his army, and to raise fresh troops, to defend the allied cities, and carry on the war with Struthas ; and, as he was much superior to Thimbron in energy and self-command, he soon repaired the consequences of his predecessor's misconduct, and, among other advantages, captured Tigranes, the son-in-law of Struthas, with his wife, as they were on their way to Sardis. Their ransom afforded an ample supply for the payment of his troops. He was brought over by a squadron of eight galleys which the Spartan government sent under the command of Ecdicus at the request of their Rhodian partisans, to wrest Rhodes from the sway of the democratical party and the Athenians.

But Eedicus, on his arrival at Cnidus, found that the democratical Rhodians were superior to their adversaries both by sea and land, and that their naval force doubled his own: so that he was forced to remain inactive at Cnidus. When his situation became known at Sparta, Teleutias was ordered to sail to Asia with the twelve galleys which he had with him in the Corinthian gulf, to supersede Eedicus, and to prosecute the war, in Rhodes or elsewhere, as he found opportunity. His first adventure, after he had taken the command at Cnidus, illustrates the complicated relations and the unsettled state of Greek politics at this period. Teleutias, whose force had been raised, by some additions which it received at Samos, to seven and twenty galleys, on his way from Cnidus to Rhodes, fell in with a squadron of ten, sent by the Athenians to aid Evagoras, who had revolted from the king of Persia, their ally, and the enemy of Sparta, whose admiral nevertheless destroyed or captured the whole.

The Athenians now thought it necessary to interpose in defence of their Rhodian friends, and sent Thrasybulus — the hero of Phyle — with forty galleys to check the operations of Teleutias. But Thrasybulus, on his arrival at Rhodes, found that the democratical party did not need protection, while their adversaries were in possession of a stronghold, from which — especially as Teleutias was at hand — he could not hope to dislodge them. He therefore thought that he might render more important services to the commonwealth in the north of the Ægean, and the Hellespont, where he would have no enemy to encounter on the sea. Sailing therefore first to the coast of Thrace, he composed the feud of the two Odrysian princes, Amadocus and Seuthes, and engaged them both in a treaty of alliance with Athens: a step toward the revival of the Athenian influence in the Greek cities, on the coast of their dominions. Seuthes, it appears, was willing to have given him his daughter in marriage. But he proceeded to Byzantium, and, throwing his weight into

the scale of the democratical party, established its predominance, and with it that of the Athenian interest; and he was thus enabled to restore a main source of the Athenian revenue, the duty of a tenth on vessels coming out of the Euxine. Before he quitted the Bosphorus, he also brought over Chalcedon to the Athenian alliance. On his return he stopt at Mitylene, the only town in Lesbos in which the Spartan influence was not predominant. Here he formed a little army, with about 400 of his own men, some exiles who had taken refuge in Mitylene from various parts of the island, and a body of Mitylenæan volunteers, and led them against Methymna, which was held by the Lacedæmonian harmost Therimachus, who met him on the frontier with a small force similarly composed of soldiers from his own galleys, Methymnæans, and Mitylenæan exiles. An engagement followed, in which Therimachus was defeated and slain; and Thrasybulus now reduced several of the Lesbian towns, and collected much plunder from the lands of those which refused to submit. He then prepared to return to Rhodes; but first sailed eastward to levy contributions on the southern coast of Asia. Here his career was abruptly terminated. He anchored in the Eurymedon near Aspendus, where he obtained a supply of money. But the Aspendians, exasperated by some trespass which his men had committed on their lands, fell upon him by night, and killed him in his tent. Xenophon's remark, that he died with the reputation of a very good man, may be admitted as sufficient proof that the great services he had rendered to his country were not his only claim to the esteem of his contemporaries, and that the suspicions excited against him were wholly unfounded.¹

The flourishing condition to which Thrasybulus had restored the affairs of Athens in the Hellespont, excited uneasiness at Sparta; and though Dercyllidas had done all that was expected from him, the government readily

¹ See above, p. 242.

listened to the proposals of Anaxibius, who had some private friends in the college of ephors, and wished to obtain the command at Abydus. He undertook, with a few ships, and a small supply of money, to check the progress of the Athenian arms in that quarter, and obtained three galleys, and a grant of money sufficient to raise 1000 mercenaries. On his arrival in the Hellespont he fulfilled his promise, waged a successful war with the neighbouring towns, subject to Pharnabazus, or allied to Athens, and having fitted out three more galleys at Abydus, did much damage to the Athenian commerce. The Athenians were at length induced to send Iphicrates, with eight galleys and about 1200 targeteers, mostly those who had served under him at Corinth, to counteract the movements of Anaxibius. Iphicrates took a position in the Chersonesus opposite Abydus, and some time was spent in a desultory warfare, carried on by small parties, which were sent over on marauding adventures. At length Iphicrates obtained information that Anaxibius had crossed the mountains with his mercenaries, a few Lacedæmonian troops, and 200 heavy armed Abydenians, to Antandrus, which had consented to receive him. Iphicrates expected that, after leaving a garrison there, he would return by the same road. He therefore crossed over in the night to a lone part of the opposite coast, and laid an ambush near the mountain road by which Anaxibius was to pass, while, by his orders, the galleys which brought him across sailed up the straits, as if on one of his usual excursions for gathering money. Anaxibius, who heard of this movement, pursued his march toward Abydus with the greater confidence, and was surprised by the ambush, as he was descending the mountain with his Lacedæmonian troops, after the Abydenians had already reached the plain. Anaxibius, as soon as he saw the enemy, perceived that resistance was hopeless; for his column could not have formed until it had descended to the plain, and then would have had to charge up the side of a steep hill. He therefore bad

his men seek their safety in flight ; for himself, he said, his part was to die there ; and, calling for his shield, fought until he fell, with a few of his Spartan companions. The rest fled in disorder to Abydus with the loss of about 250 men.

Notwithstanding the successes of the Athenians in the Hellespont the enemy found means of annoying and threatening them at home. They had hitherto maintained a peaceful intercourse with Ægina ; but the Spartans now resolved to make use of the island for the purpose of infesting the coasts of Attica. The Æginetans only wanted permission to vent their hereditary animosity against their ancient enemy, and at the instigation of Eteonicus, who was now in command there, began a series of hostile inroads, which compelled the Athenians to send a body of heavy armed infantry under Pamphilus, who occupied a fortified post in the island, while a squadron of ten galleys blockaded the coast. But Teleutias, who happened at the same time to be cruising among the islands of the Ægean, levying contributions, hearing of the distress of the Æginetans, came to their relief, and drove off the blockading squadron, though Pamphilus kept possession of the fort. Teleutias was soon after superseded by Hierax, the new Spartan admiral, and returned home. At his embarkation, he received testimonies of esteem and affection from his men, which proved that he possessed at least one quality of a great commander. Hierax sailed to Rhodes, leaving Gorgopas, his vice-admiral, with twelve galleys at Ægina. The Athenians in the fort were soon reduced to greater straits than the Æginetans in the city ; and, in the fifth month after their arrival, a strong squadron was sent out from Athens to carry them home. The excursions of the Æginetan privateers, who were supported by Gorgopas, were now renewed, and the Athenians ordered Eunomus with thirteen galleys, to repress them. In the meanwhile the Spartan government had resumed its project of attaining its object by means of negotiation, and once more sent out Antalcidas, as the person whose influence

with Tiribazus would open the readiest access to the Persian court, as Admiral in the room of Hierax. Antalcidas was escorted to Ephesus by Gorgopas and his squadron, and on his arrival sent Gorgopas with ten galleys back to Ægina. The remainder of the fleet which joined him at Ephesus, he placed under the command of his lieutenant Nicolochus, while he himself proceeded on more important business to the court of Artaxerxes.

Gorgopas on his return fell in with the Athenian squadron under Eunomus, and was chased by him into the port of Ægina, where he arrived a little before sunset. Eunomus sailed away soon after dark, with a light in the stern of his galley, to keep his squadron together. Gorgopas, whose men in the meanwhile had landed and refreshed themselves, now embarked again, and pushed across the gulf in the enemy's wake, guided by his light, with every precaution for suppressing or weakening the usual sounds of galleys in motion. At cape Zoster, as the Athenians were landing, the silence of the night was broken by the sound of the trumpet, and after a short engagement by moonlight, Gorgopas captured four of their galleys; the rest made their escape into Piræus. But not long after, Chabrias, having been sent with a squadron of ten galleys and 800 targeteers to the aid of Evagoras, landed by night on Ægina, and posted his targeteers in an ambush. The next day according to a preconcerted plan, a body of heavy-armed infantry which had come over with him under the command of Deimænatus, advanced into the interior of the island. Gorgopas marched to meet them with all the forces he could muster, and passing by the ambuscade was routed and fell in the action, with some other Spartans and between three and four hundred of the other troops. By this victory the Attic commerce was for a time freed from annoyance; for though Eteonicus still remained in Ægina, he had no money to pay the seamen, and therefore could exert no authority.

In this emergency Teleutias was sent to take the com-

mand. His arrival was hailed with delight by the men, who had already served under him, and expected an immediate supply of pay. He however called them together, and informed them that he had brought no money with him, and that they had no resource to look to for the relief of their necessities, but their own activity and courage. It was best that they should not depend for subsistence upon the favour either of Greek or barbarian, but should provide for themselves at the enemy's expense. The men expressed entire confidence in his guidance, and promised to obey all his commands. That very night, after they had ended their evening meal, he ordered them to embark with a day's provision, and with twelve galleys crossed the gulf toward Piræus. When they were within about half a mile of the harbour, they rested till daybreak, and then sailed in. Xenophon thinks it necessary to vindicate Teleutias from the charge of rashness, for having undertaken such an adventure with so small a force. But the event itself seems sufficient to exculpate him. He had no object but plunder in view, and might safely calculate on overpowering all the resistance that could be opposed to such an unexpected attack. He gave orders to strike none but the ships of war which might be lying in the harbour, to capture as many merchant vessels, as could be conveniently taken in tow, and to carry away as many prisoners as could be taken from the rest. Not only were these orders executed with alacrity and success, but some of his men, landing on the quay, seized some of the merchants and shipowners who were assembled there, and hurried them on board. While the military force of Athens marched down to the relief of Piræus, which was supposed to have been taken, he made his retreat from the harbour, sent three or four of his galleys with the prizes to Ægina, and with the rest proceeded along the coast as far as Sunium. He made the more captures on his way, as his squadron, having been seen to issue from the port of Athens, was believed to be friendly. At Sunium he found a number of vessels laden with corn, and other valuable cargoes, with which

he sailed away to Ægina. The produce of this adventure yielded a month's pay to the men, raised their spirits, and increased their devotion for their commander, who continued to employ them in this predatory warfare: the only kind to which his small force was adequate.

The Athenians however still retained the ascendancy in the Hellespont, where Nicolochus, who after the departure of Antalcidas had sailed northward with five and twenty galleys, was blockaded at Abydus by an Athenian squadron of two and thirty, which was stationed on the opposite coast of the Chersonesus, under the command of Diotimus and Iphicrates. But the aspect of affairs was completely changed by the arrival of Antalcidas, who returned in 387 with Tiribazus from the Persian court, where he had been treated with marks of distinguished favour by Artaxerxes, and had fully succeeded in the main object of his mission, having prevailed on the king to aid Sparta in carrying on the war, until the Athenians and their allies should accept a peace to be dictated in the king's name on terms previously arranged between him and the Spartan ambassador. Being informed of the situation of Nicolochus, he proceeded by land to Abydus, and took the command of the blockaded squadron, with which he sailed out in the night, after having deceived the enemy by a report, that he had received an invitation, from Chaleedon, and was going to make himself master of it. He was pursued by the Athenians toward the north, but stopt at Percope until they had passed, and then returned to Abydus, where he expected to be joined by a squadron of twenty galleys which was on its way from Sicily and Italy. But before it arrived he received intelligence of the approach of eight Athenian galleys, which Thrasybulus (of Colyttus) was bringing from Thrace to the Hellespont. Having put to sea with twelve of his fastest vessels, he lay in wait in a retired situation until the enemy had sailed by. He then issued from his lurking place, overtook, and captured the whole squadron. Soon afterwards he was reinforced, not only by

the Syracusan and Italian galleys, but by others from Ionia, and from the satrapy of Pharnabazus, who had gone up to court to marry the king's daughter Apama, and had left his government under the charge of Ariobarzanes, who was connected with Antalcidas by an ancient bond of hospitality. These additions raised his fleet to eighty sail, and gave him the complete command of the sea, so that he was enabled to divert the commerce of the Euxine from Athens into the ports of the allies of Sparta.

The Athenians now saw themselves not only exposed to constant annoyance from Ægina, but in danger of falling again under the power of the enemy, and losing all the benefit of Conon's victory. They were therefore heartily desirous of an honourable peace. But the Spartans, who had to maintain a garrison at Orchomenus, and another at Lechaum, and were kept in continual anxiety by their allies, to protect the weak, and to guard themselves against the disaffected, were no less tired of the war. The Argives also, seeing that their subterfuges would in future be of no avail, but that they must reckon on bearing their share of the evils of war, no longer wished to protract it. Most of the other states were probably still more anxious for the termination of a contest from which they could expect no advantage. When therefore Tiribazus, in his master's name, summoned a congress of deputies to listen to the proposals which he was commissioned to announce, all the belligerents readily sent their ministers to attend it. In the presence of this assembly Tiribazus, having shown the royal seal, read his master's decree, which ran in the following imperial style.

King Artaxerxes thinks it right that the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to himself; but that all the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyrus, and that these should as of old belong to the Athenians. If any state refuse to accept this peace, I will make war

against it, with those who consent to these terms, by land and by sea, with ships and with money.

The treaty founded on these conditions was ratified by all the parties almost without opposition. A little delay arose from the Thebans, who were reluctant to part with the sovereignty they had hitherto exercised over many of the Bœotian towns, and wished, for the sake of at least retaining their pretensions, to ratify in the name of all the other Bœotians. But Agesilaus, who was charged to receive the oath of their ministers, refused to accept it in this form, and required them strictly to conform to the Persian ordinance, and expressly to acknowledge the independence of all other states; and when the envoys alleged that they were not authorised to comply with this demand, he bad them return home for fresh instructions, and inform their fellow-citizens that, if they resisted, they would be excluded from the benefit of the treaty. But, instead of waiting for their answer, he prevailed on the ephors to let him immediately enforce compliance with the sword, and proceeding to Tegea, began to make active preparations for the invasion of Bœotia. The effect of these hostile demonstrations perhaps disappointed his secret wishes: for before his forces were collected, the Theban envoys returned, and reported the submission of Thebes. One impediment to the general peace still remained. The governments of Corinth and Argos did not consider themselves bound by the treaty to alter the relations which had hitherto subsisted between them; and it was only when Agesilaus threatened them with war, that they consented, the one to dismiss, and the other to withdraw, the Argive garrison from Corinth. Its departure was attended by an immediate reaction in the state of the Corinthian parties. The authors of the massacre knowing themselves to be generally odious to their fellow-citizens, thought themselves no longer safe at home, and left the city. Most of them found refuge at Athens, where they met with a much more honorable reception

than they deserved. The exiles of the opposite faction were recalled ; and their return dissolved the union with Argos, and restored the influence of Sparta, and the oligarchical institutions.

This treaty, which was long celebrated under the name of the peace of Antalcidas, was undoubtedly a masterpiece of policy, nor does it appear to deserve the censure which it incurred from the Attic orators and from Plutarch, and which has been repeated by some modern writers, as a breach of political morality. Sparta in her transactions with Persia during the Peloponnesian war, had more than once acknowledged the title of the Persian king to the dominion of the Asiatic Greeks ; she had never pledged herself to maintain their independence ; and even if she had done so, the revival of the maritime power of Athens, and its union with that of Persia, would have afforded a fair plea for receding from an engagement which she was no longer able to fulfil. The clause in favour of Athens was perhaps only designed to excite jealousy and discord between Athens and the hated Boeotians. It has been attributed to a deeper policy ; it has been considered as a device, by which Sparta reserved a pretext for eluding the conditions of the treaty which she rigorously enforced in the case of other states.¹ But it is doubtful whether the exception expressly made concerning the three islands which Athens was allowed to retain, could have been needed, or if needful could have availed, as a colour under which Sparta, while she stript Thebes of her sovereignty in Boeotia, might keep possession of Messenia and the subject districts of Laconia. Sparta did not permit a question to be raised on this point. She was constituted the interpreter of the treaty ; she expounded it by the rule, not of reason, but of might, with the sword in hand, and the power of Persia at her back. And thus the peace of Antalcidas, which professed to establish the independence of the Greek states, subjected them more than ever to the will of one. It

¹ By Manso *Sparta* iii. l. p. 105.

was not in this respect only that appearances were contrary to the real state of things. The position of Sparta, though seemingly strong, was artificial and precarious ; while the majestic attitude in which the Persian king dictated terms to Greece, disguised a profound consciousness, that his throne subsisted only by sufferance, and that its best security was the disunion of the people with whom he assumed so lordly an air.

APPENDIX.

I. ON THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE SPARTAN CONSTITUTION.

SINCE the publication of the First Volume of this History, in which (Appendix I.) several works relating to the Spartan constitution were mentioned, another has appeared in Germany which may be classed with the most valuable on the subject. Its title is: *Die Spartanische Staats-verfassung in ihrer Entwicklung und ihrem Verfall* von Dr. Karl Heinrich Lachmann. Breslau. 1836. Though it was published early in the year, it came into my hands too late to be noticed in the preceding pages. But several readers may be interested in an account of the author's views on some of the more difficult and important questions which have been already discussed in the course of this work.

The foundation of his theory is laid in an Introduction on the origin of the Greek religions, and on the early history of the Ionians, whom he conceives to have been closely allied to the Minyans, and of the Achæans, including an inquiry into the legends of the Pelopids, and of the Trojan war. (With respect to the historical substance of the latter legend, he adopts a hypothesis proposed by Voelcker in a German periodical, which seems not to differ very widely in its leading features from the view taken of the same subject in this history.) The main object of these preliminary investigations is to ascertain the state of Laconia before the Dorian invasion. And the result to which he conducts the reader is, that the population was at that time composed of Pelasgians, (Leleges), Minyans, and Achæans. Rejecting the story of the Minyan colony from Lemnos, as a fiction invented to connect two independent facts, he considers the Minyans as the people which preceded the Achæans in the possession of Laconia, where they had reduced the aboriginal Pelasgians to bondage. The Achæans on the other hand he conceives to have been settled there but a few generations before the arrival of the Dorians, and in comparatively small numbers. They were never masters of

the whole land, in the same sense as the Dorians became so ; but only exercised a kind of *hegemony* over the Minyan cities. Their seat of government was Amyclæ, which at an earlier epoch had sent out a Minyan colony to Sparta. This state of things rendered it easy for the Dorians, notwithstanding their numerical weakness, to dislodge the Achæans, who were almost entirely expelled. The conquerors occupied Sparta (the *μόλις* properly so called, in contradistinction to the four *κώμαι*) and were supported by the tribute which they received from the *he-lots*, the cultivators of the *έλος*, or level tract on the banks of the Eurotas from Sparta down to the sea, who for some time were permitted to enjoy their personal freedom, and the possession and property of their lands subject to this charge, and may therefore be compared with the Attic *γεώμοροι* before Solon. With regard to the other Laconian cities, the Dorians merely stepped into the place which had been previously occupied by the Achæans.

Dr. Lachmann's view of the developement of the Spartan constitution mainly depends on his conception of the manner in which the Spartan tribes were formed, and gradually united together. The original Dorian nation, according to him, consisted only of the Hylleans. These, in their wanderings north of Olympus, associated themselves with a portion of the Macedonian or Macedonian people, who formed the second tribe, the Dymanas. The third tribe, the Pamphylians, was composed of the adventurers who accompanied the conquerors on their expedition into Peloponnesus. The Dorian and the Attic Tetrapolis are both considered as vestiges of the period when there were but two tribes, as the Asiatic Hexapolis is supposed to have represented the three. But these tribes were at first very imperfectly united to each other, and were distinguished by a great disparity of political rights. The two elder tribes were governed each by its own king and senate, and it was only after the conquest that the king of the Dymanes was admitted to a complete equality of rank and power with the king of the Hylleans, and that the legend arose which represented both the royal houses as springing from the Heracleid Aristodemus. But the *prytanis* of the third tribe strove in vain to raise himself to a level with the other two ; its unsuccessful efforts are indicated by the story of the regent Theras, the head of the Ægeids (who belonged to this tribe), and of the Minyans, who were banished from Laconia because they aspired to the royal dignity. The distance by which it was separated from the Hylleans and the Dymanes is marked by the tradition reported by Isocrates : that the Spartan Dorians amounted to no more than 2000 (1000 families for each tribe).

Like the others however it had its *gerusia*, which deliberated apart on its particular interests.

The weakness of the invaders rendered it necessary, very soon after their settlement at Sparta, to confer a limited franchise on a commonalty composed of the natives, who were gathered round them in the four boroughs, or suburbs, Pitana, Mesoa, Cynosura, and Limna, to which L. conceives the name of Lacedæmon was properly applied. The name of Spartans belonged originally and properly to the Dorians of the Old Town (the *ἄμιοι*); but they were included in the appellation of Lacedæmonians, which was the official description of the whole people. With the aid of this commonalty the Spartans reduced the rest of the helots to servitude, and deprived them of their property in the land which they tilled, and established their dominion in the rest of Laconia. But the newly enfranchised commoners (*νεοδαμῶδεις*) were not all immediately provided with landed property, and therefore could not for a long time exercise their political rights, which required that their subsistence should be independent of all industrious occupations. Their wants were supplied by the conquest of Messenia, and were the real motive of the Messenian wars. But in the meanwhile they took an active part in the contests of the Spartan tribes, and thus contributed to aggravate the disorders of that period of discord and anarchy which was at length terminated by the legislation of Lycurgus. The object of his institutions was to unite the two orders — the Lacedæmonian commonalty and the Spartan peers — more closely together, and to abolish the distinctions by which the peers of the three tribes were separated from one another. For this purpose he formed one common senate out of the three bodies which had before deliberated apart — though the tradition preserved by Hermippus in Plutarch Lyc. 5. that Lycurgus communicated his plans to *twenty* persons, leads L. to the conclusion, that the senates of the two elder tribes had previously been assembled together for public consultations — and made the kings, who before had presided each over the senate of his own tribe, members of the common one. The origin of the ephoralty, which was peculiar to Sparta and her colonies, belongs to the period before Lycurgus. The name ephor is connected, not with the verb *ὄραω*, but with *ἐφορία*, which is explained in Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 204., as equivalent to *ἀγορά, ἡ σύνοδος ἢ πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις γινομένη τῶν ἀστυγαιτῶν, οὗ οἱ ἄμιοι ὁμοῦ συνιόντες περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐβουλεύοντο*, as in Rome the forum lay between the two most ancient settlements on the Palatine and the Capitol. In Sparta there were five such *ἐφορίαι*, which were the places where civil justice was

administered. This was one of the royal functions; but when the kings ceased to be considered merely as chiefs each of a tribe, and belonged equally to the whole Lacedæmonian people, they appointed five magistrates — hence called ephors — as their substitutes in this part of their office, only perhaps reserving the more important causes and appeals in all causes for their own cognizance. Lycurgus united the ephors in one college, transferred the right of appointment to the people, and made all the electors eligible, while the senate remained open only to the peers. L. totally rejects the story of the partition of land made by Lycurgus, which he supposes arose from that which took place after the conquest of Messenia.

This conquest, as it afforded the means of assigning a piece of land for every freeman, raised the number of the active citizens (the *δαμώδεις*) who shared the Spartan education, and had a place at the public tables, to 9000 families. So that the commoners, who were equally distributed among the three tribes, forming twenty houses out of the thirty in each *obe* doubled the number of the nobles. To guard against the effects of this preponderance in the numbers of the inferior order, the nobles introduced a measure which so limited the powers of the popular assembly as to reduce its deliberative capacity to a mere shadow. It was only permitted to listen and assent to the proposals of the senate, which was not even bound to obtain this sanction for its decrees. These proceedings having thus sunk into an empty form, must be supposed soon to have fallen into disuse; and the election of magistrates became the only kind of business for which the assembly met. That the nobles were able to carry such a measure, and as it seems without a struggle, is to be ascribed partly to their own hereditary ascendancy, partly to the influence of the victorious and popular king Polydorus, to whom so many citizens were indebted for the estates which enabled them to exercise their dormant franchise, and partly to the compensation which the lower order received in the growing power of the ephors, who began to be considered as its representatives. From these premises our author deduces a new and important proposition: that the *ἐκκλησία* of Sparta, mentioned by Thucydides and other historians, is not the assembly of the people, but only that of the magistrates, the senate, the ephors, and others who, he supposes, may have amounted in all to about seventy persons; for (with Tittmann) he interprets Xenophon's *ὡς τεσσαράκοντα*, Hell. iii. 3. 5, not as the whole sum, but as the remaining part, and considers this enumeration as the description of an *ἐκκλησία*, which was the same body as the *ἐκκλητοί*, the *τέλη*, — *ἄρχοντες*, or *ἄρχαί*, who are sometimes named in

its stead. The *μικρὰ ἐκκλησία* mentioned by Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 3. 8. was composed of the senate and ephors only. As the power of the ephors depended upon this aristocratical assembly, it was constantly exercised in support of the aristocratical interests, even when a majority of the college was taken from the lower order. Thus the ephoralty, notwithstanding its democratical origin, became the firmest pillar of the aristocratical institutions.

This short abstract is of course not designed to put the reader in complete possession of the author's views, much less to give any notion of his proofs and illustrations, which must be sought for in the work itself. His investigation is conducted throughout in a spirit of sober and sagacious criticism, which renders it highly instructive and interesting, even where it may fail to convince. The reader however may expect to be informed how far this new view of the subject has modified that which has been taken in this history. And the following observations are chiefly intended to gratify this curiosity.

Lachmann's account of the institutions of Lycurgus, though in itself highly probable, and consistent with historical analogy, especially with that of Roman history, which apparently suggested it, seems to assume too many propositions which rest on very slight or ambiguous evidence, and to reject too much of the opinion commonly received among the ancients as to the nature of the changes affected by the Spartan lawgiver. The traces to which he refers, of those conflicts which he supposes to have taken place among the three tribes, are too faint to satisfy us of their existence; and the testimony of Isocrates, as to the number of the Dorian invaders, is the less to be relied on, as it omits the third tribe. Yet this is the main foundation of the hypothesis about the rise of the Lacedæmonian commonalty, which would be unnecessary, if the force of the original settlers is raised but a little higher. Whatever were the means which enabled them to overpower the Achæans on their first arrival, might have sufficed for the gradual subjugation of the whole country, without any communication of the franchise. The mode of this communication also raises some difficulties for which we find no explanation provided. It would seem as if the same principle which led the Dorians to form, first their Macedonian allies, and then the adventurers who joined them in their expedition against Peloponnesus, into a distinct tribe, should have prevented them from admitting the Lacedæmonians into any of the three. But it is

especially improbable that these new citizens should have been equally distributed among tribes so jealous of each other, and differing so widely in rank. And again if with respect to the Lacedæmonian commonalty the three tribes were considered as all on one level, then we should not have expected that the unendowed, and therefore imperfectly enfranchised citizens, who could have had no prospect of such a provision as after the conquest of Messenia enabled them to exercise their privileges, should have been immediately incorporated with the noble tribes precisely in the same way as the rest. The peers, according to Lachmann's view, were not an oligarchical, but an aristocratical body. The account which has been given in this volume of Cinadon's plot, rests upon the other hypothesis. Lachmann is obliged to suppose that no real change had taken place in the relations of the Spartans to the lower orders, with whom they were the object of such violent hatred, but only that there was at Sparta a secret, democratical — revolutionary party, which the sight of Athenian liberty had made discontented with its inferior position. This is a conjecture, which, under the circumstances in which Sparta and Athens had been standing toward each other, appears less probable than the explanation proposed in this volume. The intercourse with Athens, such as it was, to which L. attributes these great effects, was confined to Spartans of the highest rank. On the other hand we do not think the passages which he cites from Isocrates and Plato, sufficient ground for rejecting the tradition, that the legislation of Lycurgus was connected with some changes in the distribution of landed property. Both (Panath. p. 287. and Leg. iii. p. 684.) may be very well interpreted as relating to the period after Lycurgus. As to that of Isocrates, little is gained for Lachmann's argument, if this be denied. For the eulogist of Sparta in the Panathenaicus not only asserts that no one could produce an instance of a γῆς ἀναδασμος at Sparta, but claims for it an exemption from the civil discord (στάσις) which had afflicted all other Greek cities: and this assertion, if referred to the period before Lycurgus, so directly contradicts the concurrent testimony of antiquity which Lachmann himself adopts, that it would deprive the others of all title to credit.

Still less can we be satisfied with his view of the Spartan ἐκκλησία. He observes that the name given to the assembly of the people in the rhatra of Lycurgus is ἀπέλλα, that Herodotus calls it ἀλία, which was the ordinary Dorian term, and that at Syracuse a select meeting of the principal men was called ἐσκλητύς. (ἐσκλητύς, ἡ τῶν ἐξόχων συνάθροις, ἐν Συρακούσαις. Hesych.) But this does not seem quite sufficient to

render it probable that the term *ἐκκλησία* should have been applied at Sparta to the assembly of the magistrates, still less that it should have been used in this sense by Thucydides and Xenophon, without any qualification to apprise their readers of the wide difference between it and the *ἐκκλησία* with which they were familiar. Lachmann produces a number of instances from these historians, in which the Spartan *ἐκκλησία* is represented as deliberating and discussing various questions of state policy; a privilege expressly taken away from it by the rhetra of Polydorus. He however seems to admit that all these descriptions may be referred to the *τέλη ἄρχοντες*, who according to the common notion were in fact the only speakers in every assembly; but he conceives that this supposition is in itself too improbable to be admitted. He thinks that the commonalty could not have been so often present at such consultations, without gradually enlarging its pretensions; and that such a state of things would have been inconsistent with the rise and the peculiar character of the ephors. Even the Athenian council, he observes, did not deliberate in the presence of the people.

Beginning with this last remark, we would observe on the other side, that the deliberations of the Athenian council were public; and, if Lachmann's conjecture be right, that the Spartans pointed out by Cinadon in the market-place constituted an *ἐκκλησία*, the case would seem to have been the same at Sparta: for there were 4000 persons of inferior rank present there at the same time. One strong objection to his hypothesis arises out of the very passages of Aristotle which he cites to prove the narrow limits within which the powers of the Spartan assembly were confined. Aristotle mentions as one of the points in which the constitutions of Crete and of Sparta resembled each other, that in Crete all the citizens were admitted to the assembly, but it had no power except that of ratifying the previous resolutions of the senate and the *cosmi*. (*Ἐκκλησίας μετέχουσι πάντες· κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ συνεπιψηφίσαι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρονσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις*. Pol. ii. 7. 4.) It seems clear from this that Aristotle knew of no *ἐκκλησία*, either in Crete or at Sparta, except an assembly of all the citizens; and, if it could be doubted whether he considered the Spartan *ἐκκλησία* as similar to the Cretan, this doubt would be removed by the comparison which he draws in the next chapter between them both and that of Carthage, which differed from them in the larger powers exercised by the people. It seems impossible that Aristotle could have expressed himself in this manner if he had known that *ἐκκλησία* at Sparta signified a privy council of about seventy persons.—

Again, Lachmann considers the term κρίνειν which Thucydides uses (I. 87.) in speaking of the Spartan ἐκκλησία, (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ, καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ) as inapplicable to the popular assembly; but he overlooks what appears to us a much more forcible objection, arising from this passage, to his own opinion: the extreme improbability that the council of magistrates should have expressed their determinations in this noisy way, rather than by a silent vote. — The language of Xenophon in the passage where he mentions the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, instead of implying, as Lachmann thinks, that it consisted of the ephors and the senate, seems to prove that it included a greater number of persons, and therefore most probably at least all those whom he supposes to have been members of the regular ἐκκλησία. The ephors, he says, were alarmed; καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν ξυλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ ξυλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, ἐβουλεύσαντο. Hell. iii. 3. 8. We hardly see how this can mean anything else, than that, although the senate was privately assembled by the ephors, the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία was not convened. It was therefore a larger body.

That the Spartan assembly, such as we suppose the ἐκκλησία to have been, should have remained down to the latest times as completely under the control of the magistrates as in the heroic age, is certainly a remarkable fact, but in itself by no means incredible; and the power of the ephors, instead of being inconsistent with it, seems to afford the most natural explanation of it, both according to Lachmann's view of the origin and character of their office, and according to that which we proposed in the first volume. Between these views indeed, it will be seen, there is very little difference: both are opposed nearly in the same manner to those of Mueller and Wachsmuth. Mueller's notion that the ephoralty was *the movable element, the principle of change in the Spartan constitution* (Dorians iii. 7. 1. 7.) seems to contradict the whole course of its history, in which it appears steadily opposed to all revolutionary attempts, and the main stay of the oligarchical or aristocratical government. On the other hand Wachsmuth's inference from this fact, that the ephors were chosen from the privileged class, seems to us totally inconsistent with the language of Aristotle, Pol. ii. 6. 14. Wachsmuth takes the δῆμος mentioned by Aristotle in that passage for the peers. But we do not see how Aristotle could have said of this privileged class: ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς. The senate, though filled from the worthiest, belonged to *this* δῆμος no less than the ephoralty; and ἡσυχάζει does not exclude secret feelings of discontent, but only the outward manifestation of them: so that this statement would not be at variance with

the history of Cinadon's plot, though the *δημος* included the *υπομείονες*. The word is used in the same sense as by Thucydides i. 143. where Pericles says of the discontented allies of Athens: οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάζουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὕντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν· and Pausanias iii. 10. 1. the Corinthians τότε μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάου δείματι ἡσύχαζον. So the equivalent phrases ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 22. Ecdicus, finding himself unable to cope with the democratical Rhodians, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ. Lysias Eratosth. p. 127. The patriots in the Athenian assembly, overawed by Lysander, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.

As in the Appendix II. to Vol. I. we ventured to offer some conjectures on the organisation of the Spartan army, we will take this opportunity of mentioning Lachmann's opinion on this subject. He sets out from the statement of Herodotus i. 65. (mentioned Vol. I. p. 447.) and infers from it with Mueller, that the army was organised according to the divisions of the tribes; but observes, that the *sypitia*, of which Herodotus speaks, cannot have been the greater — which were no way connected with the *lochi* or the *pentacostyes* — but the smaller of fifteen men each, which must therefore, he thinks, have been originally, as well as the *triacades*, subdivisions of the tribes. In the same way he conceives the six *moras* to have corresponded to the three tribes, according to that bipartition of which, as we have seen, he finds other examples in the Dorian and the Attic tetrapolis, and in the Asiatic hexapolis. The six Spartan *moras* he supposes to have formed the *cadres* of the army, in which the contingents of the provincial towns were incorporated: and he thinks it probable that it was only when they were thus filled up, that they bore the name of *mora*. When, as at Mantinea, the army was composed of citizens only, the Spartan *mora*, being considered only as a part of the corps properly so called, was termed a *lochus*; and when the whole Spartan force was brought into the field, four of the ordinary *lochi* were thrown into one. But when only a part of it was called out, the smaller *lochi* were retained as subdivisions of the *mora*; and hence he would account for the various statements as to the strength of the *mora*, which fluctuate between three and nine hundred men.

II. ON THE DECREE OF CANNONUS.

THE modern authors who have mentioned the decree of Cannonus, seem all to have agreed in the supposition, that one of its main objects was, in cases where there were several defendants charged with the offence described in it, to give each the benefit of a separate trial. Schneider, in his note on the Helianics, l. 7. 21, endeavours to accommodate the allusion in Aristoph. Eccles. 1089, to this supposed purport of the decree. Yet it seems clear that this was not the poet's meaning, and that the young man is only comparing his plight to that of a culprit, who, under the decree of Cannonus, was placed at the bar held by a person on each side. In this sense the Greek scholiast, though his words are corrupted, clearly understood the passage. He says: *ψήφισμά γε γράφει κατεχόμενον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸν κατ' εἰσαγγελίαν ἀποκρινόμενον*. And it does not appear that Hesychius meant anything else,—though he was the plural number in the words quoted by Schneider: *Καννῶνου ψήφισμα· εἰσήνεγκε γὰρ οὗτος ψήφισμα ὥστε διειλημμένους τοὺς κρινομένους ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι*. From the language of Hesychius Schneider collects that the word *ἐκατέρωθεν* belongs to the decree of Cannonus; but the *κατεχόμενον* of the scholiast he supposes to have arisen from a misapprehension of the poet's meaning, and therefore rejects the opinion of Moras, who, on the authority of the scholiast, concluded that in the decree alluded to by Aristophanes, there was a provision, that, the defendant should be guarded on each side while he pleaded his cause, but on this very account, and because the scholiast calls the process an *εἰσαγγελία*, thought that this must be a different decree from the one mentioned by Xenophon. Hudtwalcker (*Die Diæt.* p. 94 note.) agrees with Schneider as to the meaning of Aristophanes, and thinks that the Scholiast misunderstood it, but nevertheless believes that the clause, *κατεχόμενον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι*, was really contained in the decree of Cannonus, though it is not the part to which Aristophanes alluded. He compares the proceedings in the case of Callixenus, and the others who deceived the people in the affair of the generals, described by Xenophon *Hell.* 1. 7. 39., where it is said that, in consequence of the decree which directed them *ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι*, they were kept in custody by their sureties: *ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων*. In like manner, under the decree of Cannonus, it is probable that the defendant was

either to be thrown into prison, and brought up to trial in chains, or, if he found bail, to be attended by his sureties at the hearing.

Schneider's notion that *διαλελημμένον* in the passage of Aristophanes is to be understood in a middle sense, seems to us to destroy all the humour, and indeed all the meaning, of the comparison. For then it is not the embarrassed youth, but his two tormentors, who are compared to the defendants under the decree of Cannonus; while for the speaker himself there would be no point of comparison at all. It is not however on this allusion, but on Xenophon's description, that we rest our belief, that the decree of Cannonus made no provision for the case of a plurality of defendants. The general purpose of the decree, as it is described by Euryptolemus, is well explained by Platner (*Der Process und die Klagen bei den Attikern*, p. 376.). Mough has likewise adopted the common opinion as to the clause in question. It was an extremely rigorous decree (*ισχυρότατον*), designed to deprive the delinquent of all means of evading justice. Its peculiarity as to the process preceding conviction consisted in three points. First, the offence was described in language so comprehensive as to include every possible case of treason: *ἐάν τις τὸν δῆμον ἀδική*. He was to be tried before the assembled people, *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*. And he was to be kept in close custody till the trial was over; *δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν*. Considering the ordinary temper of the Athenian tribunals, we can hardly doubt that a clause for separating the cases of several defendants would have been considered as favourable to them; and accordingly Wacksmuth (1. 2. p. 205. note 178), who adopts the common opinion as to the distinguishing feature of the decree, (*das Psaphisma des Kannonos von Sonderung der Sachen mehrerer Angeklagten*) supposes it to have been passed under the polity which followed the overthrow of the Four Hundred. A clause of such a tendency would clearly not have been in harmony with the general spirit of the measure, and we are therefore obliged to view it with the more suspicion. One point at least is evident; that this clause was not the distinguishing feature of the decree; for Euryptolemus supposes that the generals would no less have the benefit of a separate hearing for each, if they were prosecuted under the other law which he mentions, against sacrilege and a certain class of treasonable offences. But we go further, and observe, that such a clause would have been superfluous, as it only prescribed that which the law previously required. For otherwise the proposition of Callixenus would not have been contrary to law; as we presume that no one will contend that the νόμος mentioned § 14. 15. 27. is either the

decree of Cannonus, or the other law against sacrilege, and treason. This seems proof sufficient that no such clause existed; and the common opinion seems to have arisen solely out of the two words *δίχα ἑκάστων*, § 37, which have been erroneously referred to the decree of Cannonus, though they may just as easily be taken to express a distinct part of the proposition of Euryptolemus.

III. ON THE CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS UNDER THE THIRTY.

LACHMANN has endeavoured, in the work above noticed, to determine the constitution of the provincial towns of Laconia, and conceives that it is illustrated by the measures which Lysander adopted in the cities subjected to the Spartan dominion after the Peloponnesian war. As Laconia, according to Ephorus, was divided into six provinces (five beside that which included Sparta itself) he thinks that the division of Messenia into five provinces was also made by the Spartans after the conquest. There were thus ten provinces, beside the tract occupied by the sovereign people. Now the Scholiast of Pindar, *Ol. vi.* 154, says (in a passage which has very much the appearance of being mutilated, or otherwise corrupted) that there were twenty harmosts of the Lacedæmonians. This would give two for each of the provinces, corresponding to the Spartan kings. But again we read of a hundred provincial towns, which, as one of those named among them (*Æthea*) was in Messenia, must have answered to the ten provinces; so that the district subject to each harmost included five towns. If, as Lachmann thinks clear, Messenia was comprehended in the 30,000 parcels mentioned by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 8.) there would be 300 to each town, and this may therefore be considered as the number of the families which possessed landed property in each township, and formed a provincial nobility. From them were elected the Councils of Ten, which, according to the analogy of Lysander's institutions, Lachmann supposes to have governed the towns under the harmosts. But the decarchy was only introduced in the towns which had been subject to another state, as the provincial towns to Sparta. The constitution of an imperial city, like Athens, was regulated on the model of Sparta itself, as nearly as the difference of circumstances would permit. Hence a Council of Thirty was

established there in imitation of the Spartan senate, while Piræus, as a distinct provincial town, was ruled by a decarchy. Even for the Three Thousand Lachmann finds a parallel in the Spartan institutions. It was, as we have seen, according to him the number of the families contained in the three tribes before the admission of the commonalty.

Ingenious as these combinations are, we doubt whether with regard to Athens they do not place the state of the case in a false point of view. That in the Athenian oligarchical party there was a predilection, or at least an affectation of respect, for the Spartan institutions, cannot be denied. It is sufficiently indicated by the name of ephors, which was assumed by Critias and his four colleagues before the surrender of the city. Among the remaining fragments of the poetry of Critias is part of an elegy in which he celebrates the superiority of the Spartan convivial usages over those of the other Greeks. He had paid particular attention to the institutions of the Greek states, many of which he had described in a poetical work, which, it seems, bore the same title as Aristotle's on the same subject. It would therefore be possible that he might be better acquainted than even Lysander himself with the Spartan constitutional antiquities; for among them must be numbered the original complement of the three Spartan tribes. But the question is, how far it was the design, either of Lysander, or of the Athenian oligarchs, to assimilate the new constitution of Athens to that of Sparta. That it was the number of the Spartan senate that suggested the Council of Thirty, is indeed highly probable, if not absolutely certain; but this fact seems to be of very little importance, unless it was part of a plan such as Lachmann attributes to Lysander and his partisans, of *ordering every thing strictly upon the Spartan model*. But of this assertion we find no proof; and something very different seems to be implied in the language of Xenophon where he speaks of the institution of the Thirty. He would lead us to suppose, that it was avowedly only a temporary measure, preliminary to a new constitution, which was to be framed by Critias and his colleagues, not however upon the Spartan but upon the ancient Attic model; and indeed it would appear as if Lachmann had entirely overlooked that beside the Thirty, a larger council and other magistrates were actually appointed, for whom there was no pattern to be found at Sparta. Such professions especially became Critias, who descended in a collateral line from Solon. But as Lysander probably aimed at nothing beyond the establishment of a very narrow oligarchy; so Critias perhaps never intended to make any further changes, as long as the councils, and the other magistrates were subservient to his will.

As to the reasons which induced him to fix upon the number 3000, for that of the citizens who were to enjoy the new franchise, it does not seem necessary to resort to Lachmann's hypothesis for an explanation. That number was naturally suggested by its proportion to the number of the supreme council, when the question was, whether the forms of the preceding oligarchy should in this respect be retained or altered. But it seems clear from Xenophon's account that the institution of the Three Thousand was merely an after-thought, which had not entered into the original plan, either of Critias, or of Lysander, and would never have been conceived but for the opposition of Theramenes, and the dangers which threatened the tyrants both from within and without.

Sievers, in his excellent little work on Xenophon's Hellenius, which has thrown more light than any other we have met with on the period included in the first two books, expresses an opinion which we think much too favourable of the character and motives of Critias. This however is a point with which we have here nothing to do. But the language in which he speaks of the designs of Critias seems to us hardly consistent with itself. He says, p. 50. Critias, juvenili quodam et generoso ardore flagrans, *antiquum tempus*, ut ita dicam, *reducere* conatus est. Sed hoc in consilio exsequendo — id haud facile quisquam negaret — nihil pensi nihil sancti habuit, dummodo ad id quod vellet perveniret. Then follows an attempt to excuse him, and to distinguish the atrocities of his government from those of the French Reign of Terror: and then he proceeds — Critias autem, solum patriæ remedium paucorum vel unius dominationem esse ratus, quum tyrannidem Athenis constituere studeret, non videbat suam de optima republica doctrinam neque tempori neque loco convenire. The first professions of Critias and his party are indeed well described by the *antiquum tempus reducere*; his real designs by the tyrannidem constituere; but we do not perceive any other connection between the *tyrannis* and the *antiquum tempus*.

We ought perhaps to have noticed a conjecture of Sievers with regard to the number of the Council under the Thirty, of which he says, p. 47: puto senatum illum non ut antea ex quingentis constitisse sed multo minorem ejus fuisse numerum. He does not however pretend to determine what the number was. If we suppose it to have been Three Hundred, this would both correspond to the Thirty and the Three Thousand, and would confirm a conjecture which we threw out, Vol. II. p. 41., as to the constitution of the Council before Solon.

IV. ON LYSANDER'S REVOLUTIONARY PROJECTS.

THE account which Plutarch gives, on the authority of Ephorus (*ἀνδρῶς ἱστορικοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου*, Lys. 25.) of the mode in which Lysander meant to bring about the revolution which he meditated at Sparta, is chiefly remarkable as it shows the degree of credulity which he attributed to his countrymen. There was, it seems, somewhere on the coast of the Euxine a young impostor named Silenus, who gave himself out as the son of Apollo. Lysander had prevailed on this youth to lend himself to his designs, and hoped first to gain the sanction of the Delphic oracle for the impostor's pretensions, and then to use his authority to confirm a forged prophecy which was to be brought to light at Sparta, to the effect that the state would be more prosperous, if the kings were elected from the worthiest citizens. Plutarch conceives that Lysander did not fall upon the thought of this machinery in aid of his revolutionary plans, until they had been so far matured, that he had procured a speech to be written for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, with which he intended to recommend the measure. He was then struck with the difficulty of the enterprise, and be-thought himself of playing upon the superstition and credulity of the Spartans. All was ready for the execution of his project, when one of his associates became frightened, and withdrew; and his own untimely death soon after put an end to it. Nor was it discovered until the speech was found in his house, which however Agesilaus was induced to suppress by the advice of the ephor Lacratidas.

We cannot agree with Manso (Sparta iii. 2. p. 47.), that the circumstantial details with which the ancients relate Lysander's project, place the fact beyond doubt: if its credibility rested on no other ground, we should not have been inclined to censure the temerity with which it has been rejected by a modern author, though the reason which he assigns for his incredulity — Xenophon's silence — would not be the less absurd; for the same motives which induced the Spartan government to hush up the affair, would certainly have led Xenophon carefully to avoid all allusions to it. Our conviction of the truth of the main fact is grounded chiefly on its perfect congruence with the character, and the position of Lysander, and with several well attested events in his history. The motives which urged Pausanias and Cinadon to a similar enterprise were all combined in Lysander. The ancients indeed do not agree in their

accounts of his motives, and consequently differ as to the epoch when he first formed the design. But these discrepancies may be easily reconciled. The authors followed by Nepos ascribed it to his resentment against the ephors who abolished his decarchies: Plutarch, to his quarrel with Agesilaus. Both motives may have conspired to fix his resolution. It was not only, or for the first time, in the abolition of the decarchies that he had been thwarted by the ephors. It appears from Plutarch (*Lys.* 19. 20.) that still earlier after his triumph at *Ægos-potami*, he had experienced some personal humiliation from them, which must then have been peculiarly irritating to him, from its contrast with the extravagant flattery which he had received abroad, especially in the Ionian cities.

Nevertheless here again it is only the general fact that we can accept as probable; for it seems impossible to reconcile Plutarch's details with Xenophon's narrative. Plutarch says that Pharnabazus sent envoys to Sparta with complaints against Lysander, on account of damage done to his territory, and that the ephors put his friend and colleague Thorax to death, and sent a scytale to recall him. Lysander was alarmed by this message, and, before he quitted the Hellespont, prevailed on Pharnabazus to give him an exculpatory letter for the ephors; but Pharnabazus craftily substituted one which contained a repetition of his former charges. Yet no punishment appears to have been inflicted on him, and a few days after he obtained leave, it is said, to set out on a journey to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. It seems clear that in this account there is much distortion of facts, and confusion of dates. Manso (*u. s. p.* 48.) observes that Plutarch is right in referring the injuries which Pharnabazus complained of in his letter, to the period during which Lysander remained on the coast of Thrace after the battle of *Ægos-potami*. But if so, he was certainly quite mistaken about the subsequent events which he describes. For it is plain from Xenophon's narrative, that Lysander did not return to Sparta before the reduction both of Athens and of Samos, and that then he was not recalled, but came back in triumph. Nevertheless it is possible that his conduct in his command may have been subjected to a severe investigation, and have incurred the censure of the ephors, and that he felt the execution of Thorax as a blow aimed at himself. The debates which took place about the treasure which he brought home with him, show the jealousy with which he was viewed at Sparta, though they also prove that he was at the head of a powerful party. The voyage to Africa must, as Manso observes, have been made at a much later period than Plutarch assigns for it, but the fact cannot reasonably be

questioned ; and, as such a voyage would not have been undertaken by a man of Lysander's character from motives of vulgar superstition, it must be considered as an additional confirmation of the statement of Ephorus, that he tampered with the priesthood of the principal oracles, to obtain their concurrence in the execution of his project.

But the precise nature and extent of his revolutionary schemes were perhaps never known to any but himself. The argument by which he maintained the claim of Agesilaus to the crown against Diopithes, seems to prove that he had not then any intention of depriving the Heracleid families of their privilege. This may have been an after-thought, suggested by his quarrel with Agesilaus. It was most likely only meant to be the first of a series of measures, and to try the strength of his party, on which he must have been conscious his success would depend much more than on either eloquence or fraud.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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